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Ugandan Army Units Mutiny, Reported in Control in North

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

KAMPALA, Uganda — Army units have mutinied and seized territory in northern Uganda, the official radio of the East African country reported Friday.

The Radio Uganda broadcast did not clarify how much territory the rebels controlled, but it was believed that they held much of the Acholi region bordering Sudan in the north.

Uganda Radio said the army rebels had captured the town of Gulu, 150 miles (243 kilometers) north of Kampala, and at the Karuma Falls Bridge over the Nile, 50 miles south of Gulu.

The army rebellion coincided with recent gains by anti-government guerrillas and appeared to pose the gravest problem for President Milton Obote since he returned to power in the December 1980 elections after the removal of Idi Amin.

In another development, diplomats and Western aid officials told United Press International that rebels loyal to the former defense minister, Yoweri Museveni, overran Fort Portal, Uganda's fourth largest city, in their biggest victory yet in a five-year guerrilla war against Mr. Obote's government.

The separate actions left two sections of the country, a former British colony, out of the control of the central government in Kampala.

There were no immediate reports of the number of casualties.

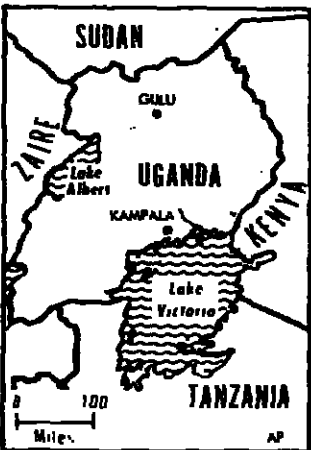
Mr. Obote said some army officers had joined guerrillas fighting his government and warned of possible bloodshed, the Uganda News Agency reported.

"Such a course will lead to the deaths of very many innocent persons," he was quoted as saying.

He appealed to all political and



Milton Obote



religious leaders and elders to contact and restrain people who appeared to be working against the constitution, the agency added.

The state radio said the leader of the rebellion was the commander of the northern army. The radio did

not give his name, but the post has been held by Brigadier Olara Okello.

According to unconfirmed reports in Kampala quoted by The Associated Press, Brigadier Okello has offered to lay down his arms if the government is dissolved or if the army chief of staff, Brigadier Smith Opon-Acak, is dismissed.

The radio broadcast messages from four army units condemning the uprising and expressing loyalty to Mr. Obote.

Ugandan sources and Western diplomats told The Associated Press on Thursday that fighting had broken out earlier in the week between rival army groups.

The sources said the rebellion had developed along tribal lines, with forces loyal to the armed forces commander, General Tito Okello, who is not related to Olara Okello, pitted against those holding allegiance to Brigadier Opon-Acak.

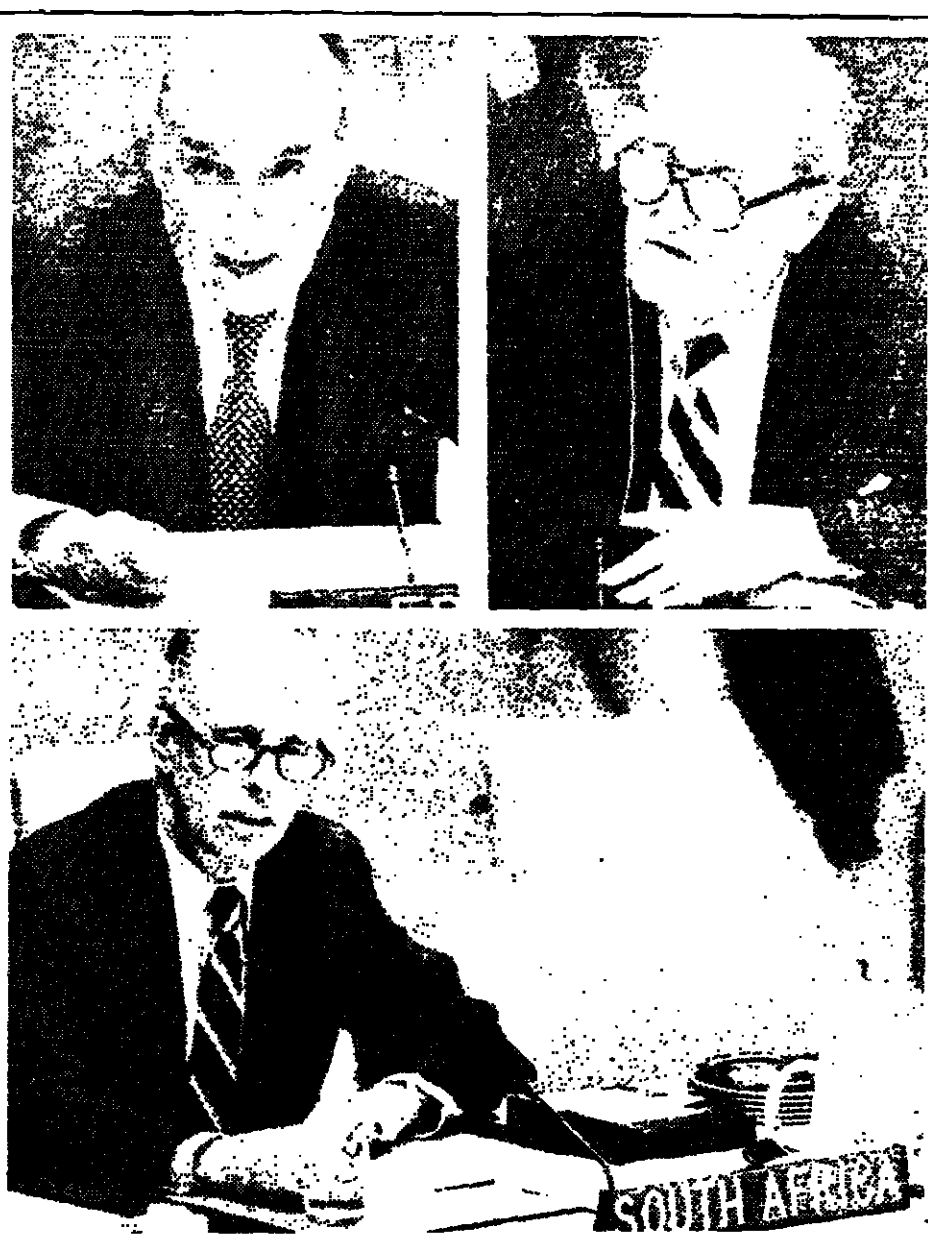
General Okello is a member of the Acholi tribe and Brigadier Opon-Acak belongs to the Lango, as does Mr. Obote. The Acholi and Lango, both northern tribes, make up the majority of the Ugandan National Liberation Army.

The International Institute of Strategic Studies in London puts the strength of the Ugandan Army at 18,000. But Ugandan sources said it may have as many as 24,000 soldiers.

Last week, President Obote called a meeting of army commanders from the Kampala area and urged them to uphold the constitution.

He appeared to acknowledge the threat of an army coup when he told the soldiers: "You can use your guns to take over my chair, but it is a very hot seat."

(AP, Reuters, UPI)



The French ambassador to the United Nations, Claude de Kemoullaria, top left; the U.S. ambassador, Vernon A. Walters, top right; and the South African ambassador, Kurt von Schirring, above, spoke at an emergency Security Council session Thursday on France's request that UN members suspend investment in South Africa.

House, Senate Panel Restores Weapons Cuts

By Bill Keller
New York Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — A House-Senate conference committee has approved a compromise military budget that congressional aides said would restore money for all of the 22 weapons systems that either the House or the Senate had voted to kill.

The \$302.5-billion military programs bill, which increases spending ceilings to make up for inflation, assures that none of the weapons programs the Pentagon requested will be eliminated next year. It was approved by the committee Thursday night, and aides said they expected the House and Senate to vote on the measure within a week.

A source involved in the process said the bill for the 1986 fiscal year "proved once again that Congress can't kill weapons systems, any more than the Pentagon can."

Instead of cutting weapons programs, the conferees managed to cut about \$20 billion from the Pentagon's budget request by slowing the pace of the production of some weapons, estimating lower costs for others, forecasting lower inflation and better dividends from foreign currency exchanges, and trimming personnel and operating costs.

The bill would meet the target the conferees agreed upon two weeks ago for the Pentagon budget. But in later years, said a Senate aide, the large number of growing weapons programs would make military spending and the deficit more difficult to control.

In one major saving on the military budget, congressional aides said the conferees had agreed to cut \$2.9 billion from the military retirement system and to order the Pentagon to come up with proposals for making military pensions less expensive.

The conference bill granted Pentagon requests to proceed with at least four major new programs. The total cost of the four, including research on the Stealth bomber and fighter, was estimated by one aide at \$150 billion to \$200 billion over the life of the programs.

The conferees Thursday night broke a deadlock and approved a provision restricting Pentagon employees from taking jobs with military contractors whose projects they have overseen.

Aides said the bill might face strong opposition in the House from members unhappy with the conferees' decision to drop some House-passed restrictions on production of new chemical weapons.

[Earlier, the conference negotiators had approved allowing the United States to begin producing lethal chemical weapons for the first time since 1969, the Los Angeles Times reported. But members of the House Armed Services Com-

mittee are expected to press for another House vote on the issue.

To achieve the agreement on nerve gas, the House negotiators were forced to give in on at least one significant restriction the House had insisted upon when it approved its version of the bill last month: The compromise does not include a House-passed provision requiring that nerve gas production be delayed until the North Atlantic Treaty Organization officially requests it to replace chemical weapons now in Europe.

[However, other restrictions passed by the House were retained, including a ban on assembling the weapons before October 1987.]

Other provisions in the confer-

(Continued on Page 3, Col. 4)

Aid to Rebels In Nicaragua Gains in U.S.

By Steven V. Roberts
New York Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Senate and House negotiators approved a \$25.4-billion compromise foreign aid bill early Friday that would provide nonmilitary aid for the insurgents fighting the Nicaraguan government but would bar the Central Intelligence Agency or the Defense Department from distributing it.

It was the first time in four years that a foreign aid package has cleared a congressional conference committee.

The compromise, which provides funding for a variety of foreign aid programs for the fiscal years 1986 and 1987, must now return to each chamber for final approval. It provides \$12.7 billion in aid for 1986.

The bill is \$500 million less than President Ronald Reagan had sought but includes many provisions that will please the White House, including a repeal of a ban on U.S. aid to anti-Communist guerrillas in Angola.

It also includes a huge increase in funds for Israel and Egypt, the two largest recipients of U.S. aid, and an unprecedented \$5 million for guerrilla groups fighting Vietnamese forces in Cambodia.

[An attempt by the House to mandate a U.S. trade embargo against Libya was dropped from the bill, The Associated Press reported.]

The House version of the bill would have required President Reagan to impose a ban on U.S. exports to and imports from Libya as a way to pressure the government of Colonel Muammar Qadhafi to cease what the administration calls "state-sponsored terrorism."

In votes earlier this year, both the House and the Senate passed bills that provide aid for the Nicaraguan rebels but that bar its use for military purposes. A major sticking point, however, has been the insistence by the House that the CIA be prohibited from distributing the aid.

Under the agreement approved Friday morning, the Nicaraguan rebels would receive \$27 million in nonmilitary assistance for a six-month period beginning on Oct. 1. Apart from the exclusion of the CIA and the Defense Department, the decision on how to distribute the aid would be left to the president.

Senator Richard G. Lugar, an Indiana Republican and chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said he had reluctantly accepted the House position on distribution of the aid in the hope of paving the way for an agreement between House and Senate negotiators.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

UN Council Votes Action On S. Africa

The Associated Press

UNITED NATIONS, New York — With the United States and Britain abstaining, the United Nations Security Council adopted a resolution Friday calling for worldwide voluntary sanctions to force South Africa to dismantle its system of racial separation.

The council acted by a 13-0 vote after the United States and Britain vetoed a proposed amendment by the council's six nonaligned members that would have threatened South Africa with wide-ranging mandatory sanctions if it failed to eradicate apartheid.

France, which with Denmark co-sponsored the adopted resolution, abstained on the amendment put forward by Burkina Faso, Egypt, India, Madagascar, Peru and Trinidad and Tobago.

Even without the threat of mandatory sanctions, the resolution is the strongest anti-apartheid measure to be adopted by the 15-nation council since it proclaimed a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa in 1977.

Ambassador Claude de Kemoullaria of France, speaking after the vote, termed the resolution the "gravest warning" to South Africa and added, "Let us hope this warning will be heeded."

U.S. Resists Sanctions

Earlier, David Hoffman of The Washington Post reported from Washington:

The Reagan administration demanded Friday for the first time that South Africa end the week-old state of emergency in black townships, but it announced that the United States would continue to resist economic or political sanctions.

"We want the state of emergency (Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

Arrest, Anxiety Strain Family Ties in South Africa

By Alan Cowell
New York Times Staff Writer

ALEXANDRIA, South Africa — On the corner of a crumbling street in this black township, Victoria Gasela told a sad story. Her husband is a black policeman, she said Thursday night, and a week ago a crowd came and tried to burn their home because they opposed his role.

By contrast, her daughter had become involved with a black activist group. So on Wednesday, Mrs. Gasela said, the police came to take her away under the emergency decree put into effect July 21 by the South African government.

The arrest transformed Mathilda Gasela, 26, a university graduate and high school teacher of English and science, into No. 701 on the growing list of those held under the emergency powers.

Thus Mrs. Gasela was caught between the anger that black political activists reserve for those they call the stooges of white authority, such as black policemen, and the sharp retribution the government has doled out, under the emergency decree, to those it considers a threat.

"When your child is arrested," Mrs. Gasela said, "it is like death." But when your husband is a policeman in these times of sudden wrath by volatile crowds, "you just live like birds — you cannot sleep."

Alexandra is a rundown place, close to

been told only that she is in solitary confinement "because they don't want her to mix with others."

She had been at work at the hospital when her husband called to say their daughter had been arrested, Mrs. Gasela said. She had

'When your child is arrested, it is like death.' But when your husband is a black policeman in South Africa, 'you just live like birds — you cannot sleep.'

Victoria Gasela

Resident of Alexandra, South Africa

Johannesburg's wealthy, northern suburbs. Discarded timbers and sheets of zinc tumbled on one another, the houses lodged between them like afterthoughts. On the corner where Mrs. Gasela spoke, a woman sold chicken entrails from a plastic food bucket.

Mrs. Gasela said she does not know where her daughter is being held. Her husband has

come home and two schoolgirls had confirmed the news.

Mrs. Gasela said, "I just decided to keep quiet because I was unable to do anything."

She said her husband had been told that their daughter's detention would be for 14 days "if she was responding, if she was not cheeky."

Miss Gasela, according to associates, is a member of the Alexandra Youth Congress, an anti-apartheid group affiliated with the United Democratic Front, the biggest non-parliamentary alliance in the country, whose supporters seem to be the main targets of the emergency decree. She was detained once before, in the unrest of 1976-1977.

If a pattern to the detentions is emerging, said a spokesman for the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, a civil rights monitoring group, it is that those being detained are from the multiracial United Democratic Front, which has 600 affiliate organizations and a following of at least 1.5 million.

Even before the emergency, the spokesman said, the front's most prominent public figures were in detention, charged with high treason and awaiting trial on accusations of forming a "revolutionary alliance" with the outlawed African National Congress.

Those now being detained, according to the civil rights monitoring group, seem to be rank-and-file members of community activist organizations, such as the Soweto Youth Congress, and members of the Council of

unilateral Soviet military intervention in the October war.

James R. Schlesinger, secretary of defense at the time, said during a recent interview that since the Cuban missile crisis, the Soviet Union

ability of the use of those weapons, we placed a very low probability on that."

Their purpose, "to the extent that one thought that the Soviets had a real purpose in making those moves," was to bolster Israel's opponents, Mr. Schlesinger said.

Mr. Schlesinger, who once headed the CIA, suggested an additional dimension to the Soviet move:

"It was widely believed in the Arab world that Israel itself had nuclear weapons." The Soviet "weapons were being moved into the region, it was speculated, in order to reassure either the Egyptians or the Syrians" that if the Israelis "were to use such weapons, that there would be a response."

"It also was intended," Mr.

(Continued on Page 3, Col. 1)

The Bomb

The 1973 Mideast War

Last of four articles

had "been very careful about moving any nuclear weapons outside its own territory."

So the 1973 movement itself was "a considerable change in the pattern of Soviet behavior," Mr. Schlesinger said, "and therefore tended to tell us that the Soviets were indeed politically serious."

But, he went on, "as to the possi-

Latin Nations Rejecting Debt-Repudiation Call

By Juan de Onis
Los Angeles Times Staff Writer

RIO DE JANEIRO — The call by President Fidel Castro of Cuba for the nations of Latin America to collectively repudiate their foreign debt has been rejected.

The governments of the two largest debtors in the region, Mexico and Brazil, have dismissed the idea of a debtors' rebellion as politically undesirable and financially irresponsible.

President Miguel de la Madrid of Mexico, facing a crisis because of declining oil prices, announced instead economic reforms this week and said that a debt moratorium was "out of the question."

Mexico's finance minister, Jesus Silva Herzog, said: "This solution may seem attractive at a theoretical or emotional level, but it would be an irresponsible decision because it would have adverse effects on future economic development."

President Jose Sarney of Brazil, whose government owes \$100 billion abroad, said early in the week that the debt was not an "ideological weapon" and should not be made into an issue for "East-West confrontation."

In a region where most countries have been in recession since 1982, and low commodity prices and protectionism in industrial markets make trade prospects dim, the col-



Fidel Castro

lective debt of \$360 billion is politically risky.

Bolivia has halted payments to foreign private banks because it

(Continued on Page 18, Col. 2)

World War III: Allies Increase Risks

By Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — In late October 1973, almost 11 years to the day after the Cuban missile crisis ended, U.S. intelligence reported that a Soviet transport ship passed through the Bosphorus from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, headed toward Egypt, which then was at war with Israel. The ship carried a radioactive cargo.

Central Intelligence Agency analysts suggested the cargo could be warheads for Soviet short-range missiles that were then being delivered to Egypt.

The report, according to an official involved at the time, sent a "tingle" through the U.S. national security establishment at a moment when the United States was already working to prevent a threatened

chance to play but also a place to work. Last year, Nissan was able to recruit players from the national high school and college championship teams.

If a player fares well, he might be noticed by one of Japan's 12 major league teams, which scout the corporate ranks for talent. Many company players have gone on to the pros with no loss of dignity for leaving their firm to join a major league team. Loss of face would come if a player switched to another company's team, just as changing jobs in Japan is looked on as betrayal.

The Japanese Amateur Baseball Association insists that the tournament players work a few hours in the office before going off to play. But then the play is work itself. Practice is often an 11-month affair. Nissan, the defending champion, has a schedule of 80 games.

The players "have great pressure on them," said Koji Makino, supervisor of Nissan's athletic program. "The players have to live up to the expectations of the company."

Nissan, he said, was sensitive to this burden.

"In order for them to have the mental

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

How to Get to First Base With Nissan Co.

By Michael Shapiro
New York Times Staff Writer

TOKYO — When the game was won, the employees rose to sing the company song. They took off the blue plastic cowboy hats the company had given them and raised their fists. They sang of Nissan, the automaker: "Looking at Mount Fuji, surrounded with white clouds in the morning."

Men peered at the lyrics on the song card, and the children fell a half-beat behind. But the voice was a single voice, the voice of 4,000 employees of the Nissan Motor Co. and their families, chosen by lottery and by exemplary job performance to spend half the workday at the ball park, rooting for the company team in the 56th annual National Intercity Amateur Baseball Tournament.

On Tuesday, the 32 survivors of a 320-team field began play in the championship round. The two finalists will play Friday in Tokyo's Korakuen Stadium before 50,000 people.

In the United States, it would be akin to International Business Machines playing General Motors before a full house at Yankee Stadium.

"The Japanese are very loyal," said Eiichiro Yamamoto, executive vice president of the Japanese Amateur Baseball Association. "For a normal Japanese, everything revolves around his work and workplace. Private life is more often a sacrifice for the company. It's like the American fathers and mothers going to high school tournaments that their kids are in. It's exactly the same feeling."

Nothing about the corporate baseball tournament is taken casually. A championship team can help a company immeasurably in publicity and sales. The tournament is well documented in the newspapers, especially in the nationally circulated Mainichi papers, a tournament sponsor.

A company might be flooded with orders because it won the tournament. Mr. Yamamoto said. Insurance companies do well when their teams win and banks will see a rush of congratulatory deposits.

Because the stakes are high, companies will go to great lengths to field good teams. The best high school and college players, if not chosen by the professional teams, are scouted and recruited by companies offering them not only the



Cheerleaders encouraged the Nissan Co. baseball team at a corporate tournament in Tokyo.

INSIDE

■ India's accord with Sikhs to end strife was hailed by most but criticized by some. Page 2.

■ Austria's wine scandal threatens the coalition government's stability. Page 5.

ARTS/LEISURE

■ A grand design is taking shape for old, new and imminent Paris museums. Page 7.

BUSINESS/FINANCE

■ Interest rates rose in China, an attempt to curb rampant economic growth. Page 15.

SPECIAL REPORT

■ ECOWAS finds a compromise on migratory workers issue. Page 9.

MONDAY

The tradition of female circumcision remains strong in Africa despite a decade of opposition.

Sikhs in Jubilant Mood After Accord With India

Many Families Celebrate Agreement; Others in Nation Criticize Concessions

By Ronc Tempest
Los Angeles Times Service
NEW DELHI — Making his rounds here Thursday morning in a prosperous area where many Sikh families live, Chowdhury Narayan Singh, a milkman known to everyone as "Baba," reported that there was celebration in nearly every Sikh home.

A day earlier, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had made an announcement of dramatic importance: he and Harchand Singh Longowal, the head of the Akali Dal, the main Sikh party, had signed an agreement aimed at ending four years of bloodshed and tension between the Sikhs and their neighbors in northern India.

The Sikhs won many concessions in the accord, among them the incorporation of Chandigarh, an ultra-modern city designed by Le Corbusier, into the Sikh-dominated state of Punjab.

Chandigarh had been a federal territory shared as capital by Punjab and neighboring Haryana state. "The Sikhs are ours! Chandigarh is ours!" the milkman reported. The 15 million followers of the Sikh religion have great influence in India and are known for boisterous displays of emotion.

The displays did not please the milkman, a Jat Hindu of Haryana who favored leaving Chandigarh as it was. "Very, very bad," he said. "Haryana lost too much. Now what is going to be the capital for Haryana?"

He complained that the prime minister had not consulted the right people.

There were other signs of dissatisfaction with the agreement. The accord ordered the creation of a tribunal to mediate water disputes between Punjab and Haryana, and promised jobs to Sikh soldiers who deserted over the army attack on the Golden Temple, the holiest Sikh shrine, in June 1984.

State legislators in Haryana, an agricultural state of 13 million people bordering Punjab on the south, threatened to resign over the issue. Some opposition leaders in the state called the agreement a "sell-out" and a "grave injustice."

Leaders of rival groups, particularly those pressing for a Sikh nation to be called Khalistan, held protests in Punjab cities, according to the Press Trust of India.

However, the overwhelming rejection of most Indians — Sikhs and Hindus, and members of political parties from the Communist Party to the ruling Congress (I) Party — was relief and joy.

The turmoil in Punjab, the richest and most beautiful of India's states, has pained the entire nation. Hindus and Sikhs, historically close, were torn by violence after the October 1984 assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by two Sikh guards.

A final, perhaps most telling, blow came June 23, when an Air India Boeing 747 exploded and crashed into the Atlantic near Ireland, killing all 329 aboard.



Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi opened the World Amateur Billiard Championships in New Delhi Friday. In a cheerful mood after his accord with Sikh leaders, he said that billiards, like the use of political power, required precision.

Although the cause has not been verified, Indian officials believe that a bomb was responsible. Widespread opinion here is that it was a terrorist bomb.

"Strangely enough, I think it might have been the plane that was the final straw," said an official. "After that, everyone, including the Sikhs, said that was enough. There had been enough killing."

Sikhs Ratify Agreement
Despite open dissent by two senior leaders, the Akali Dal ratified Friday the agreement to end the crisis, The Associated Press reported.

ed from Anandpur Sahib, where the leaders met.

Mr. Longowal announced that the party was formally withdrawing its campaign for greater religious and political autonomy.

He called the meeting in a historic temple town, about 180 miles (290 kilometers) north of New Delhi, to get final endorsement. But he failed to win full support of two key leaders: Prakash Singh Badal, former chief minister of Punjab state, and Gurmehar Singh Tohra, head of the main Sikh religious council.

They did not block ratification of the pact, but both criticized it.

Rigorous '86 Budget Approved in France; Program Is Praised

By Axel Krause
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The French government has approved spending plans for the 1986 budget, which senior government officials said would be the most rigorous in France's post-war history.

Business leaders, conservative opposition leaders and foreign diplomats cautiously praised the plan for its economic soundness, particularly a proposed reduction in corporate taxes on profits, which is aimed at stimulating investment.

The plan was announced by Finance Minister Pierre Bérégovoy on Friday.

The budget in its current form also appeared to be aimed at establishing a national consensus in economic policy, even if the Socialists lose their majority in elections for the National Assembly in March.

The opposition daily Le Figaro said the budget was "passably courageous," and could provide a "meeting ground" between Mr. Mitterrand and a new conservative majority in the National Assembly.

The French leader has said that he intends to serve his full term until 1988, even if the left loses the parliamentary elections.

A U.S. diplomat said: "Assuming the Socialists lose, the opposition in parliament will have a very tough job using the budget against Mr. Mitterrand, or improving on it."

Finance Ministry officials said that tax revenue-raising plans would be completed during August and the final draft budget presented for approval to the cabinet in mid-September and parliament in October.

Total spending next year is projected to rise by 4 percent from 1985 to a record 1,035 trillion francs (\$18.9 billion). But in light of the government's projection of a 3.7-percent inflation rate next year, spending in real terms will stagnate, the officials said. Inflation this year is projected at 4.5 percent.

In preparing the budget, officials projected gross domestic product growth in 1986 at 2 percent, which compares to projected growth of about 1 percent this year. Attaining both the inflation and GDP goals will be difficult, but possible, according to recent government and private forecasts.

The tax rate on net corporate profits will be reduced from the current level of 50 percent to 45 percent, applicable to earnings starting on Dec. 31, 1986, Mr. Bérégovoy said.

Officials said that the main goal of the measure, representing about 4.5 billion francs in potential tax revenue, was to stimulate new investment. An across-the-board reduction in personal income taxes next year will total 3 percent, representing 6 billion francs, and should stimulate consumption.

Moderate spending increases are planned for national defense, education and research, even though ministers had argued for substantially higher amounts.

Defense spending, for example, will rise 5.4 percent to 158.3 billion francs.

Substantial spending cuts are planned across the board, but officials said that an effort was made to reduce subsidies and other forms of financial aid to state-owned industries. Capital grants to nationalized companies, with the exception of the ailing automaker, Renault, and several nationalized steel companies, will be reduced to 8.3 billion francs from 14 billion francs budgeted in 1985.

WORLD BRIEFS

China Won't Exclude Force in Taiwan

WASHINGTON (Reuters) — President Li Xiangmin of China declined Friday to rule out any future use of force in Taiwan and he has said that Chinese-Soviet relations would never again be as warm as they were in the past.

Asked if China would ever use force to intervene in Taiwan, Mr. Li said: "I would not exclude it." The Chinese leader, who held talks with President Ronald Reagan in Washington on Tuesday, was in Chicago for the opening of a Chinese consulate.

Mr. Li said that while the Soviet Union and China recently signed a trade agreement, "Even if relations between China and the Soviet Union are improved, relations between China and the Soviet Union will not return to what they were in the 1950s. They will not return to relations between allies."

Aide Says Pastora Is in Nicaragua

SAN JOSE, Costa Rica (AP) — Edén Pastora Gómez, the Nicaraguan rebel leader, was injured in a helicopter crash but is recovering at a camp in the jungles of southern Nicaragua, according to another leader of his anti-Sandinista Democratic Revolutionary Alliance.

Mr. Pastora, who was known as "Commander Zero" when he fought with the Sandinistas during the Nicaraguan revolution, was reported missing Tuesday after his helicopter developed engine trouble traveling between rebel camps in Nicaragua. José Davila, a member of the alliance's directorate, said Thursday that Mr. Pastora had serious bruises on his ribs and legs, but was safe.

Soviet Reveals a New Military Shift

MOSCOW (Reuters) — General Yuri P. Maximov, 61, a military commander in Soviet Central Asia, has been promoted to deputy defense minister. Western experts said it was likely that he had assumed command of the nuclear missile force.

General Maximov's promotion has not been officially announced, but the Defense Ministry newspaper, Krasnaya Zvezda, identified him Friday as deputy defense minister, in a report on a meeting for Navy Day, to be marked Sunday.

Western diplomats monitoring changes in the top levels of the Soviet military said it was almost certain that General Maximov had taken over the important missile command. But there was no confirmation of reports that Marshal Nikolai V. Ogarkov, former chief of staff and first deputy defense minister, removed from both posts in September, had made a comeback as Supreme Commander of the Warsaw Pact Forces.

Assad Said to Vow Help on Hostages

PARIS (UPI) — President Hafez al-Assad of Syria has called for "all measures to be taken" to obtain the release of foreigners abducted and held hostage by Muslim militants in Lebanon, the Syrian defense minister said in an interview published Thursday.

Lieutenant General Mustafa Tlas, who also serves as deputy prime minister, told France-Presse Arabes, a French-language monthly journal, that Syria had "always opposed terrorism, though it has often been the victim." He added, "As regards the French and other foreigners kidnapped in Lebanon, President Hafez al-Assad has given orders for all measures to be taken so that they may be found and freed."

A total of 13 foreigners — seven Americans, four French citizens, a Briton and an Iranian — have been missing in Lebanon and are presumed to be held by militant Muslim organizations.

Looting Is Spreading on Guadeloupe

POINTE-A-PITRE, Guadeloupe (AP) — French police put down a prison uprising in Guadeloupe, but looting spread Friday and protesters' barricades kept Pointe-a-Pitre, the island's commercial center, cut off from the rest of the island.

It was the fourth day of protests in support of Georges Faisans, a militant independence advocate jailed in Paris. He reportedly has been on a hunger strike in prison since June 3. Mr. Faisans, a native of Guadeloupe, is serving a three-year sentence for hitting a schoolteacher with a machete after the teacher allegedly insulted a young black.

About 200 police arrived from the nearby French island of Martinique, and local radio reports said officials in Guadeloupe asked that troops be sent from France. Government officials in Pointe-a-Pitre refused comment.

For the Record

A senior Ethiopian relief official denied U.S. allegations that Ethiopia was preventing the United States from using Kenyan trucks to deliver relief food in the country. It was reported Friday from Addis Ababa.

China simplified entry procedures Friday for 20 million people of Chinese origin living in other countries. As of Aug. 1, they may enter as tourists or for business reasons without visas or exit permits, the government announced in Beijing.

Cairo police broke up a gathering Friday of 60 Muslim fundamentalists, clubbing them with truncheons and arresting about 20 of them as they were preparing for a prayer session, reporters said.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz, after meeting with Mexican officials in Mexico City, has rejected an appeal from the Contadora peace group that the United States resume talks with Nicaragua.

Javier Pérez de Cuellar, the UN secretary-general, who was hospitalized Wednesday in New York, is suffering from an inflamed esophagus and will leave the hospital soon, a spokesman said.

Peruvian rebels claimed responsibility Friday for a car bomb that exploded in front of the Interior Ministry in Lima. Security was tightened for the inauguration Sunday of President-elect Alan García Pérez. (AP)

UN Urges S. Africa Sanctions

(Continued from Page 1)
removed," the presidential spokesman, Larry Speakes, said in a statement after an hour-long meeting of the National Security Council chaired by President Ronald Reagan.

The White House statement marked an escalation in the administration's criticism of the emergency measures imposed July 20 in 36 South African cities and towns.

The official death toll has reached 16 and the number of arrests stands at 910, including 118 more Friday, since the white-minority government issued its declaration. The emergency measures gave the police and army sweeping powers of arrest and seizure of property.

Earlier in the week, the White House stopped short of demanding an end to the emergency measures, calling on the South African government to exercise its "considerable responsibility" in a "scrupulous manner."

Mr. Speakes said the tougher language came because the "continuing violence and bloodshed has

not abated and it is clear this is not bringing about the type of results that we want or, we assume, the South African government wants."

He said the demand for an end to the emergency measures had been transmitted to the Pretoria government. He said it did not indicate a change in the administration's policy of "constructive engagement" under which it has sought to influence South Africa away from its politics of apartheid, or racial segregation, by working with the government.

Mr. Speakes said the U.S. policy of constructive engagement must remain in place because "if there is no voice of reason talking with South Africa, it could lead to a result that no one wants," continuing violence.

Firms Report Soviet Intrusion
HELSINKI — Border authorities protested Thursday the intrusion of a twin-engine Soviet airplane into Lapland airspace in northern Finland, officials said.

The House had opposed aid for the Nicaraguan rebels for the last two years, but then reversed itself last month and voted to provide \$27 million in nonmilitary aid. The Senate version would have allocated \$38 million.

At Japanese Firms, It's Smart Business to Play Ball

(Continued from Page 1)
strength which cannot be affected by any pressure, we also provide a program in which they go to a Zen temple where they can learn to relax and concentrate," he said.

Nissan won last year's championship before 10,000 of the company's 60,000 employees. The players

wept as their co-workers sang the company song. It is that sense of closeness that the company wants to sustain each summer by sending busloads of employees to Korakuen, with boxed lunches, company hats and plastic cards inscribed with the lyrics of the company song.

For Nissan's first game in the championship round, no effort was spared in achieving unity. The buses were met by men with tiny Nissan flags, who guided the faithful to their seats.

The cheering was led by 30 ebullient young men who showed not only great zeal but stamina as well for not succumbing to the oppressive heat and humidity in their heavy, white sweaters. The cheerleaders were accompanied by 13 pompon girls whose friends from

work giggled and waved when they climbed on top of the dugout to dance.

"With fighting spirit, proudly we go on the offensive," the Nissan boosters sang, "look at the progress of our brave fighters." The crowd cried, "Now now, go go, Nissan!"

and the cheerleaders, who stood on the dugout roof, spun toward the field, assumed the pose of a bayonet drill and struck the air with something that looked like a bolo punch.

Across the way, the team from Nippon Kokan, a steel company, was not to be outdone. They brought along five women who, in kimonos, performed traditional dances from their town, Fukuyama. The dancing was accompanied by the beating of great drums.

Nippon Kokan had cheerleaders and pompon girls, too, but it did not do good. Nissan, on the strength of two home runs by its first baseman, Tetsuo Wakayama — he is said to be the company heart throb — won, 7-2.

At the final out, the teams lined up, facing each other. They took off their hats and bowed. Then they ran over to their boosters and bowed to them, too.

Outside, as the players milled with their friends and families, the employees were led back to the buses. Because it was only 2:30 P.M. and because the Nissan plant was only a 45-minute drive away, the buses took their passengers back to the office where, after three hours of togetherness, they went back to work.

Violent Times Strain Family

(Continued from Page 1)
South African Students, a radical high school students' group that has converted schoolroom dissatisfaction into political resistance.

If one image has molded white perceptions of the need for a state of emergency, it was the television coverage last Saturday of a young woman, Maki Skhosana, being burned to death in Duduza township by a crowd of fellow blacks who accused her of being an informer.

The Afrikaans-language newspaper Beeld said in an editorial that "without emergency measures, the massacre will only escalate."

The editorial asked, "Can any one realistically expect the government to stand back and observe the breakdown of stability?"

Yet the state of emergency, declared after months of township violence that has claimed about 500 lives, is to black activists a tightening of repression, and the white outcry against the incineration of Miss Skhosana represents a misunderstanding of black anger.

A black trades union activist said, "They must feel the pain that we feel."

He was referring to police informers in a conversation with reporters about the incinerations that have come to represent the savagery of black revolt to the white population.

He was asked about the practice of burning foes in a manner that seems to foment a blood lust once a victim has been identified and "sentenced" by impromptu gatherings.

"It is not that we are happy to be killing our own people," he said, "but that is the only alternative to stop police informers."

In an interview in a Johannesburg newspaper, The Star, several legislators from what is called the "enlightened" wing of President Pieter W. Botha's National Party seemed to suggest Thursday that black internecine violence could cause whites to reconsider their readiness for the limited changes offered to blacks by the authorities.

"I have heard voters ask, 'Are those the people we would have to negotiate with?'" Albert Ntshang, a National Party legislator, was quoted as having said.

The argument seemed to ignore official calculations that for the first seven months of South Africa's newest unrest, from September 1984 to April 1985, 78 percent of the killing was done by the police.

The compromise came after a furious round of on-floor negotiations aimed at avoiding an Israeli and U.S. walkout and settling on a final conference document.

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In Memory of H.I.M. MOHAMMAD REZA PAHLAVI ARCHITECT OF MODERN IRAN

July 27, 1985, commemorates the fifth anniversary of the demise of my beloved brother the Shahanshah of Iran whose dream was to bring Iran out of backwardness and poverty, transforming it into a prosperous and modern nation, and through peace and progress revive the greatness of her civilization. Iranians who by the million suffer the yoke of an abject tyranny remember this day. They remember in him a nation respected worldwide; a nation which not too long ago stood as the vanguard of progress in the region.

Five years after he passed the scene, all our achievements lie in ruins, wasted and shattered. Day after day, year after year, Iranians witness the ravages of a senseless war, the bombing and destruction of their cities, the spontaneous justice of revolutionary guards, the thousands upon thousands of official executions, the appalling scenes of violence and demonic frenzy, the stoning and public humiliation of women, and the daily sacrifice of lives too young to be conscious of the fact that they are condemned to destruction in the killing fields of Iraq.

Our nation and people have become hostages. Hostages to the terror of a cruel regime controlled by a few fanatic despots who have taken measures to crush all fundamental human rights and all elements of the social order which are not in total conformity with the ideology they seek to export to the entire region. Our nation and people have been hijacked as surely as TWA's flight 84-7 was hijacked and by the same terrorists.

Let those in the West who hailed the regime as a rampart against communism, who praised it as a "future model of humane governance," and who considered Khomeini a "saint," beware! More than ever Iranians liken Khomeini to a Trojan horse. He has become the very vehicle by which communism can be securely smuggled into Iran. But Iranians are fighting back. Despite the daily executions and repression, the "Khomeini experiment" in Iran is failing. The regime has discredited itself irredeemably with the Iranian people and is now less secure than ever. Popular opposition denies it the degree of stability it needs to sink its roots, for its militant radicalism and gory logic leaves no room for modification and humanization. Its government by terror has alienated the very people it tries to rule. The cry out of Iran today, travellers and journalists are unanimous, is not "long live Khomeini," but "GOD BLESS THE SHAH" who gave us peace and prosperity.

United, we will assure the deliverance of our nation and the restoration of our heritage.

ACHRAF PAHLAVI,
12 Avenue Montaigne,
Paris 75008, France.

AMERICAN TOPICS



AGGRESSIVE BEE-HAVIOR — Dr. David Kavenaugh of San Francisco, an entomologist, inspects a bee, left, sometimes called a "killer bee" because of its aggressiveness. A regular bee is at right. A hive of the "killer bees," native to South America, has been found in California. Officials say they are no more venomous than garden-variety honey bees, but that a slight disturbance can trigger an attack from an entire swarm.

Sex Education in U.S. Changes Direction

Sex education is slowly changing around the United States. For years, children were taught about sex, but not about sexual-ty. They learned how the female egg was fertilized, but not how to deal with peer pressure when confronted with sex in the first place. They learned about infant care, but not about the consequences of being a teen-age parent.

The new emphasis, the Los Angeles Times reports, is not on anatomy and physiology but on developing self-esteem and decision-making ability, which can be nurtured at home and reinforced in school.

Walter Gunn, a research psychologist for the federal Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta, says surveys show that "sex education is effective only if it is coupled with contraceptive services, counseling and follow-up." This is the case, for example, in St. Paul, Minnesota. But Mr. Gunn notes that "in a lot of communities," such programs "would not be acceptable."

The National Center for Health Statistics says that from 1976 to 1981, the pregnancy rate of girls from 15 to 19 went from 101.4 to 110.3 per thousand, and the number of abortions from 54.4 to 66.8 per thousand. In other words, the teen-age pregnancy rate, which is twice that of other industrialized countries, is

going up and so is the teen-age abortion rate.

Guerrilla Golfers In New York City

Golf hazards are usually sand and water, but not on the 13 courses within New York City limits. The New York Times reports. On the Pelham course in the Bronx, Don L. Jerome said one of his tee shots landed in the rusting bulk of a car abandoned on the fairway. A friend of his was robbed of \$63 and his credit cards while lining up an approach shot. Mr. Jerome remarked, "Something like that disrupts a golfer's concentration."

"I know a guy who used to take his guard dog with him to the golf course," said James McDonald, who also recalled a golfer who carried a can of Mace in his bag with the woods and irons. Charles Fessenden said that instead of two or three hours, he and his friends found it safer to play in eight or ten minutes.

Things have improved since nine of the city courses were put under private management, which is removing the graffiti and hiring retired policemen and firemen to patrol the courses. Still, the courses are used for soccer matches, picnics and even for dumping corpses. "We get a certain number of dead bodies,"

said John DeMatteo, one of the private company's supervisors. "I try not to be the first one out on the course in the morning."

Short Takes

Acid rain causes \$5 billion a year worth of building corrosion in a 17-state region in the northeastern quadrant of the United States, according to findings described as tentative in a study conducted by the Environmental Protection Agency. The study did not go into losses caused by reduced visibility, damage to lakes and forests or to public health. The cost of controlling U.S. acid rain has been estimated at \$3 billion to \$7 billion a year.

U.S. airline flight delays have fallen 34 percent in one year. Experts credit the hiring of special traffic coordinators at major terminals, the lessening of peak-hour flights and an additional year's experience for the controllers hired after the strike of August 1981.

Under the federal government's six-year-old "flextime" program, one fifth of the 350,000 federal workers in Washington have chosen to set their own working hours or to work 10-hour-day, four-day weeks. Although the program is considered a success, Congress has yet to make it permanent.

—Compiled by ARTHUR HIGBEE

U.S. Urged to Protect Its Lead in Space

By John Noble Wilford
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Competition in launching spacecraft is spreading worldwide, beyond the United States and the Soviet Union, as other nations and several private companies seek to stake a claim in what is viewed as possibly the next economic frontier.

The United States, as a result, is under pressure to protect its economic and technological leadership in space by reassessing the space shuttle's pricing policy, promoting greater private investment in space-related goods and services, and forging a long-term space policy to assure a competitive edge, according to government and aerospace industry officials.

At stake, besides prestige, is a share of what by the end of the century could be a \$50-billion annual business, according to estimates by some economists in the aerospace field.

The European Space Agency, a consortium of 11 Western European governments, broke the American monopoly in launching services for the West with its successful Ariane rocket program.

Arianespace, a corporation owned by the French government and European banks and aerospace companies, is aggressively pursuing customers for Ariane's services and has won several contracts that could have gone to American conventional rockets or the space shuttle.

China announced last month a new commercial space program using its own satellites, rockets and ground stations. The Chinese, who have launched 16 successful spacecraft since 1970, have rockets capable of boosting satellites into the high orbit favored for communications satellites.

Japan, emphasizing the export potential of space technology, is also developing its own rocket launching capability and planning to launch next year the first of a series of ocean and land remote-sensing satellites.

France plans to use the Ariane late this year to start the world's first commercial remote-sensing satellite service, competing with the American Landsats, which survey the world's geologic, water and agricultural resources.

India has joined the space-launching nations, and Brazil is building a new rocket base with the intention of becoming the first South American launching power.

Even the Soviet Union is apparently tempted to enter the commercial fray. However, Western space experts say Moscow might be reluctant to allow outside scientists and businessmen access to their facilities, and other governments would probably not allow advanced communications satellites to be exported to the Soviet Union.

Although many nations have communications satellites in orbit, most were produced by American manufacturers. According to one report, there are 1,522 satellites in orbit, many of them still operating.

In a report issued Thursday, the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment, an advisory group, concluded that other nations had developed their own space-launching capabilities in a desire to be technologically independent, to gain the economic benefits that derive from space technology and to be regarded as "space powers."

Consequently, as the report concluded and American space officials agreed, American "competitive strategies based on price or superior technology alone will not prevent foreign entry into the launch-services business."

The congressional study found competition greatest in the areas of launching services, remote-sensing services, and communications satellite equipment and services. Competition in the processing in space of drugs, electronic chips and other materials is "currently embryonic but may become significant in the future," the report said.

The panel recommended that the government investigate new trade and regulatory policies to reduce the uncertainties that now hinder private investment in space technology.

The study also concluded that the National Aeronautics and Space Administration by itself "is not well-equipped either to promote or to regulate growth in the commercial exploitation of space." The regulation of "space industries" should be integrated with the regulation of their counterparts on Earth, the report said.



The Ariane rocket, which enabled the European Space Agency to break an American monopoly in commercial space launches.

U.S. Is Said to Gain in Some Arms Areas but to Lag in Others

By Michael Weisskopf
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan's trillion-dollar arms program has brought improvements in some areas of U.S. military power, according to a congressional analysis. But in others, the nation is no better off now, or it has even lost ground to the Soviet Union.

The assessment, made public Thursday, said that the record U.S. peacetime military spending during Mr. Reagan's first term had done little to alter the strategic balance, chiefly because of a simultaneous and rapid Soviet buildup.

"Some U.S. problems have been mitigated but many remain, and a few are magnified," John M. Collins, military analyst for the Con-

gressional Research Service, concluded in his report, "U.S.-Soviet Military Balance: 1980-1985."

The report was prepared at the request of several members of Congress who have influential roles in military debates.

They include Representative Les Aspin, Democrat of Wisconsin; Senator Sam Nunn, Democrat of

Georgia; and Senator John W. Warner, Republican of Virginia.

The report came as Congress was nearing approval of a \$302.5-billion defense authorization bill for fiscal 1986. Its findings are expected to be cited by some lawmakers seeking further increases in military spending.

The 360-page report recom-

mends a fresh look at military strength to reassign priorities to vital areas, before proceeding with policies and programs set in 1980.

Mr. Collins, speaking at a news conference, cited the "very impressive improvements" achieved by the Reagan arms program.

Among those, he said, are a strengthening of the country's technological base, accelerated modernization of tanks, aircraft and ships, enhanced combat readiness of the armed forces and also ability for sustained combat.

But, Mr. Collins added, "maturation" by planners left a number of major limitations, so that "in some very important respects, we find that either we are no better off than we were in 1980 or our position is worse."

Progress in strategic power, he wrote, "has been less than in past years and is 'backsliding in some respects.'" Mr. Collins said.

While the naval segment of the U.S. deterrent has been strengthened by nuclear submarines and missiles since 1980, the report said, the advance in land-based and air-based weapons has been slower.

Without a missile deterrent system, the U.S. ability to protect its population and economic base from nuclear attack remains "nil," Mr. Collins said.

The nuclear strength in Western Europe is "no better" than in past years and is "backsliding in some respects," Mr. Collins said.

The ships in the Soviet Navy and merchant marine "vastly outnumbered" those of the United States in 1980, the study said and added: "The gap is growing."

The U.S. numerical edge in eight of 10 categories, ranging from strategic nuclear forces to destroyers, slipped in the last four years, the study concluded. The Soviet Union retained numerical superiority in 16 of 19 areas, in addition to its large edge in manpower.

Conferees Restore Weapons Cuts

(Continued from Page 1)

ence agreement include permission for the air force to test a new anti-satellite weapon, an agreement to spend \$2.6 billion on the MX missile program, and a \$2.75-billion research budget for President Ronald Reagan's space-based anti-missile program.

The House, in approving its version of the military programs bill last month, voted to eliminate 20 weapons programs it considered marginal.

They included the technically troubled Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missile, or AAMRAAM; the E-61, an expensive new communications plane for the navy; Istars, a new airborne, tank-hunting radar that House members said was too vulnerable to enemy attack; and an assortment of smaller programs.

The Senate, in its bill, voted to eliminate two programs, a 9-millimeter Italian-made pistol to be

used as the new sidearm for all of the military services, and a new navy helicopter, the Seahawk, to be used in tracking and attacking submarines.

Senators said the gun was an inadequate replacement for the old .45-caliber Colt pistol, and that the helicopter was not enough of an improvement over an existing version.

Aides said the conferees had restored money to finance all of those programs. In most cases, they said, the weapons were restored after strong pleas from the military.

277 Million in Soviet Union

MOSCOW — The population of the Soviet Union was 277 million on July 1, an increase of two million over last year, the Central Statistical Board reported Friday.

Some of the programs were restored with conditions governing their cost and performance.

"The problem is, when you look at these things case by case, they all have some congressional approval," an aide said. "Nobody's willing to look at the whole picture and say, this is a higher priority and this is a lower priority."

In addition, the conferees have approved at least four major new programs that are scheduled to advance to costly development stages next year.

The programs, which had been approved in different versions by the House and Senate, include full-scale development of the C-17 transport plane, a \$40-billion program; development of a hybrid helicopter-airplane called the JXV, to be used by the navy, Marine Corps, and air force; and research on the Stealth fighter and Stealth bomber, whose costs are classified.

In '73, Superpowers Learned of Risk of Being Dragged Into War by an Ally

(Continued from Page 1)

Schlesinger said, "to deter any such Israeli action, if indeed the Israelis had" a nuclear weapon.

That the stage was set for the last major nuclear confrontation between Washington and Moscow.

Illustrated a new danger: that the superpowers, which had learned from the Cuban missile crisis to avoid direct clashes between their own forces, could still be dragged into conflict while assisting allies.

This more complex form of Soviet nuclear diplomacy, which involved sending signals not only to the United States but also to Israel and its own Egyptian and Syrian allies, turned out like earlier episodes. It quickly provoked a U.S. response in the form of a worldwide strategic nuclear alert.

That alert was meant to be kept a secret, except from the Russians. But word of it quickly leaked and reached the entire world.

Another U.S. signal at the time has never been publicly mentioned: a private message to the Soviet Union that said, according to a Pentagon official at the time, that the United States "might not be able to restrain someone else," meaning Israel, "from taking out Soviet nuclear warheads."

That 1973 incident illustrates why nuclear weapons have even begun to lose their value for the superpowers as a tool of diplomacy. And the introduction of a nuclear "wild card" — Israel — may explain why there have been no nuclear alerts since.

On Oct. 6, 1973, Egyptian and Syrian forces launched a surprise attack against Israel, attempting to regain lost Arab lands. As the tide of battle went back and forth, Moscow and Washington each tried to arrange a cease-fire to give its client state the best result.

Early in October, shortly after the Egyptians had invaded the Sinai, the Soviet Union put several airborne divisions on alert. Later, when U.S. aid was flown to Israel, the Russians began flying ammunition and other heavy military materiel into Cairo.

By mid-October, Israel gained the advantage and, by Oct. 21, the Egyptian Third Army Corps, about 25,000 men and the cream of the Egyptian Army, was facing annihilation.

The Soviet leader, Leonid I. Brezhnev, seeing the possibility that Israel was about to score a major victory that could unseat President Anwar Sadat, suggested that U.S. and Soviet forces jointly move into the area to enforce an earlier, agreed-upon cease-fire. Sadat gave his support to Brezhnev's proposal.

At the time, Brezhnev was maneuvering to restore Soviet influence in the Arab world, which had

diminished badly less than a year earlier when Sadat had expelled thousands of Soviet advisers from Egypt.

The Brezhnev note came at a time of domestic turmoil in Washington, where the Watergate crisis was intensifying with new calls for the impeachment of President Richard M. Nixon. Days before, Mr. Nixon had dismissed the Watergate special prosecutor, Archibald Cox, and failed to prevent Attorney General Elliot L. Richardson from resigning during what was called the Saturday Night Massacre.

"We felt that the Soviets had been watching what had been going on," Mr. Schlesinger said. "Their concern about the Middle Eastern problem might conclude that the United States was incapable of reacting because of the domestic crisis. And that if they acted boldly, in view of our presumed preoccupations, that they might be able to score a major geopolitical coup."

The report that the Russians were moving nuclear materials to the war zone arrived in Washington at the same time U.S. intelligence lost track of some Soviet air transports. The planes had been flying equipment into Egypt.

Mr. Schlesinger said their sudden disappearance was interpreted as a sign that the Russians had successfully put in place the necessary equipment for a Soviet intervention into Egypt.

Senior officials of the Nixon administration had received these disquieting intelligence reports by Oct. 24, when late that evening a Brezhnev message arrived declaring Moscow's intention to act unilaterally if necessary.

Senior officials gathered for an emergency meeting late that night in the White House situation room. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger presided at the session. Mr. Nixon did not participate. He said recently he already had given Mr. Kissinger "authority to do what was necessary diplomatically to prevent Brezhnev from intervening militarily."

Mr. Schlesinger said: "It was clear we had to react vigorously and there was no real debate about that." Mr. Kissinger suggested a full-scale, worldwide, nuclear alert, "so as to make the greatest impression on the Soviets."

"It was our belief," Mr. Schlesinger said, "that Mr. Brezhnev would be prepared to back down, because he was looking for an easy opportunity to move into the Middle East."

"The United States," he added, "and indeed all of mankind, have been in the fortunate position that Soviet leaders over the course of some 30 or 40 years have been prudent and cautious men. Leninist doctrine tells them not to in-

I fear that if we do ever see a nuclear weapon used in anger, it is likely to be in the Third World.'

James R. Schlesinger
Former U.S. Secretary of Defense



UPI/73

dulge in adventurist schemes, to wait, because time is on their side."

But, he added, "That does not mean that the Soviets are so prudent that they refrain from pushing."

At that delicate moment in 1973, the United States responded to Soviet moves by going on alert and privately warning the Russians that the Israelis, too, were on alert. Washington also "brought great pressure on the Israelis to adhere to the spirit and the letter of the cease-fire," Mr. Schlesinger said.

The next day, Brezhnev agreed to a United Nations force without superpower representation to ensure the cease-fire, dropping his threat to intervene with Soviet forces.

Arkady N. Shevchenko, the highest-ranking Soviet diplomat to defect to the West, said that faced "with the risk of a nuclear war or to save Egypt," the choice definitely was to forget Egypt "and avoid the risk of a nuclear war."

The U.S. alert had "actually a sobering effect on the Soviets and the next day they were already not talking about any kind of joint operation or even the possibility of use of Soviet conventional forces," Mr. Shevchenko said.

Reflecting on this episode, Mr. Nixon said recently that "in order to avoid escalating to the nuclear level, we felt that it was important to make it very clear to Brezhnev then that if he moved in, we would react." But, he added, "we did not at that time threaten to use nuclear weapons. That was in the background."

Speaking more broadly about the superpower standoff since Hiroshima, Mr. Nixon held up nuclear weapons and nuclear diplomacy as "the major factors today, as we look back over 40 years, that have prevented World War III."

A former U.S. defense secretary, Harold Brown, said recently that

whatsoever, excepting only to deter one's opponents from their use, and we surely don't need 50,000 for that purpose."

The Russians, however, see another purpose for nuclear weapons. Mr. Shevchenko summed up what is a prevailing U.S. government view that "the Soviet leadership considers that the stronger they are, militarily and especially strategically, the easier they can achieve political goals."

"Without this enormous military, strategic, nuclear arsenal," he said recently, "the Soviet Union would not be a superpower. It would be behind Japan. It would be behind even Germany."

Mr. Nixon sees the present growth in Soviet nuclear weaponry as posing a potential new danger to the equilibrium between the superpowers that has helped keep the peace for four decades.

"Superiority in nuclear weapons for a defensive power keeps the peace," he said. "The United States had it for almost 40 years. And we never used it for offense. We always used it to deter war."

"Superiority for an offensive power, like the Soviet Union," he went on, "is a power that is trying to extend its domination, risks the peace."

Not that Mr. Nixon foresees the Soviet Union using its weapons. "The men in the Kremlin are not madmen," he said. "And they're not fools. They do not want a Europe that has been atomized. They don't want a United States that has been destroyed."

He continued: "The great danger insofar as the West is concerned is not destruction in nuclear war, but surrender through nuclear coercion," Mr. Nixon said.

Soviet Ship Is Rescued

From Ice Antarctic Seas

MOSCOW — A Soviet research ship trapped in frozen seas in Antarctica for 133 days was freed Friday by an icebreaker sent from the Pacific port of Vladivostok, the official press agency Tass said.

The ship, the Mikhail Somov, with a skeleton crew of 53 on board, is sailing under its own power through a channel carved through ice 1.5-meters (4.5-feet) thick.

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A Budget Failure Looms

A political failure of historic magnitude is developing in Washington this summer. Both the White House and the House of Representatives have repeatedly given thought to a serious attack on the budget deficit — and have repeatedly decided that they would rather not. The Senate has put on the table a new proposal that, among other things, would impose a stiff tax on imported oil. It could accomplish the necessary feat of getting the deficit below \$100 billion a year by 1988, but its chances of passage are not brilliant.

The consequences of failure would be drastic. The costs would not be paid by the Reagan administration, which has no more elections to win or lose, but by all the people throughout America and the world on whom the weight of economic breakdown would fall.

The Senate proposal is probably the last chance for substantial reduction of the budget deficit this summer — and if nothing is done this summer, nothing will be done before the next presidential election. Next year is an election year, never a good time for tax increases. And after that? It will be the second half of the president's second term.

Whose fault is the present deadlock? Fault inevitably lies primarily with the president. He insisted the override tax cut of 1981 as part of a great strategy supposed to send savings, productivity and output all soaring. None of that has happened, and President Reagan has steadfastly refused to come to terms with that failure. Instead he keeps fighting off tax increases while the debts mount.

Much responsibility also belongs to the House Democrats. Their adamant defense of the Social Security cost-of-living increases is a disservice to the country. If they and the president cannot get together on some variant of the Senate proposal, and do it within the next

10 days, the odds will shorten dramatically on a series of highly unpleasant possibilities.

The budget deficit and the Treasury's constant borrowing keep interest rates unusually high. The conventional wisdom is that the government will eventually try to erase these debts with inflation, but that will not work. The financial markets are dominated by people who lost a great deal of their own and their clients' money in the late 1970s by underestimating inflation, and they will not make that mistake again. At any sign of rising inflation, interest rates will go shooting up as lenders scramble to protect themselves. Economic growth, already faltering, will drop.

At that point America will probably be forcefully reminded that its present prosperity depends crucially on the money that it is borrowing from abroad at a rate of \$120 billion a year. If the foreign lenders begin to get nervous and pull back, the dollar exchange rate will drop and inflation will accelerate while interest rates take another leap upward. Then you will begin hearing more about trouble in the banking system, and the burdens of the indebted Latin countries will become truly intractable. There you have the formula for an economic catastrophe that goes well beyond the scale of any conventional recession.

None of these things need happen. But a failure to enact the Senate proposal, with strong and explicit presidential support, would sharply increase the chances of a real disaster. Failure to act now, before the recess, would greatly strengthen the possibility that, several years from now, Americans will cast a heavy judgment on the president and Congress that wasted the summer of 1985 in petty maneuvering for partisan advantage, at a time when disaster lay directly and visibly ahead of them.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

Toward Peace in India?

When Rajiv Gandhi was catapulted to the leadership of the world's largest democracy by his mother's assassination last year, he was inexperienced and untested. His spectacular triumph in the election soon after owed more to sympathy for his martyred mother than to any achievement of his own. The success of his recent trips to Moscow and Washington was, likewise, discounted as deriving from his youth and charm. Now Prime Minister Gandhi has emerged as a true heir to the skills and strengths of the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty. He seems about to conquer the issue that most gravely menaces India's future, the seething Sikh violence that has convulsed the country for years and surely cost his mother her life.

This conflict began with Sikh demands for greater provincial autonomy, territorial adjustments and greater access to river water for irrigation. Thousands of lives have been lost; the terror has spread beyond the Sikh homeland in Punjab, even beyond India's borders.

Yet Prime Minister Gandhi and Harchand Singh Longowal, the Sikh political leader, have managed to negotiate an agreement that addresses key original demands of the Sikhs, plus new ones occasioned by the violence and repression. If their constituencies ultimately

accept the accord, it will at last be possible to contemplate an end to the enduring violence, and a harmonious future.

Mr. Longowal launched the Sikh campaign three years ago with Mahatma Gandhi-style tactics of civil disobedience, but militant and terrorist factions took over. Indira Gandhi's government responded by sending the army into the Golden Temple and other Sikh sacred sites last summer. More than 1,000 Sikhs perished, including the most militant leader, match of the moderate leadership was put in detention. Mrs. Gandhi was murdered four months later, allegedly by her Sikh bodyguards, and uncontrolled anti-Sikh rioting brought injury and death to thousands of Sikhs. Negotiations resumed after Mr. Gandhi released Mr. Longowal and other leaders.

Opposition to the agreement can be expected from militant Sikhs, but it remains reasonable to hope that most will approve. Mr. Longowal and Mr. Gandhi merit admiration. Mr. Longowal has brought a long campaign within sight of success. Mr. Gandhi has mobilized his political capital and taken real risks in the interests of his country's future. All of India's friends wish him success.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Clear America's Voice

That was quite a bolt that France hurled at South Africa: a three-pronged announcement of recall of the ambassador, suspension of new investment and introduction of a United Nations condemnation of the state of emergency. At one stroke the French took the hardest, or at least the most conspicuous, position of any Western state. Observers link the new French position to a decision by the Socialist government, facing elections, to adopt a genuinely leftist stand on at least one major issue. It is a diplomatic event all the same.

We confess to a certain envy in viewing the French position. Skeptics ask what the angle is and point out that unrest in South Africa is a greater danger to investment than any act of Western self-denial. Still, no one can be in doubt about where the French stand on apartheid. Whereas, five years into "constructive engagement," many Americans and almost everyone elsewhere suspect that the United States is copying up to apartheid.

The Reagan administration has some sophisticated rejoinders, but it must fight its way upstream against the impression of permissiveness left by the president, who can seem impervious to black victimization, and by the State Department, which becomes increasingly defensive. "America is anathema to people in South Africa now," says Sheena Duncan, a

white South African long associated with the anti-apartheid movement. Her words cut.

The terms of the West's argument over sanctions are changing. South African rigidity and American ambivalence play off each other. We think that the Reagan administration is right in claiming that sanctions — not just the threat of them, but the reality of them — are less likely to pressure whites toward reform than to slow down the economy, a powerful engine of black advancement. But with the administration's own commitment to ending apartheid under a cloud, its resistance to sanctions gives sanctions a good name. Congress is moving toward some form of sanctions — watered down, perhaps, but precedent-setting.

If there is a legitimate argument over sanctions, there can be none over the value of bringing the West's moral authority to bear. Remote, lonely and frightened as well as proud, white South Africa craves inclusion in the company of the West. This gives Western words and gestures uncommon importance. The Reagan administration has dissipated much of the leverage available to the United States. Briefly last fall it seemed as if the president had found his voice — the American voice. The effect was electric, but there was no follow-up. Where is the American voice? — THE WASHINGTON POST.

Much Ado About a Freeze — Remember?

By Charles Krauthammer

WASHINGTON — Whatever happened to the nuclear freeze? It seems just yesterday that it was sweeping America, gathering before it politicians, teachers, doctors, children and other living things. Two years ago the freeze resolution passed the House of Representatives by an overwhelming margin. People were falling over themselves to claim credit for it.

Remember the urgency? "We are on the verge of blowing ourselves off the face of the Earth," said Representative Ed Markey three and a half years ago, repeating what was then a commonplace. In 1982, in perhaps the largest demonstration in American history, nearly a million people turned out in New York to call for disarmament.

In a few days there will be demonstrations again, this time for the 40th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. There will be demonstrations and speeches and a ribbon to be tied around the Pentagon to banish nuclear war. There will be yet another Markey freeze resolution introduced in the House, this one "comprehensive." There will be petitions and letters.

Yet this time around it is not the same. It all has the sound of a faint echo. And the look is ritualized, too, in part because Aug. 6 is a solemn commemoration, but in larger part because the life has gone out of the movement. The heady days, Ground Zero days, are gone.

Indeed, the freeze itself is gone. Aug. 6 will simply highlight that fact. It is a reminder of how little is now heard about the issue that was to be, literally, the issue to end all issues.

What happened? What killed the freeze? A sampling of speculations: • Success? The anti-nuclear movement did help move President Reagan to accept the policy, if not the wisdom, of arms control. Americans and Soviets are talking in Geneva. But we are as far as ever from a freeze, let alone from satisfying any millennial longings for disarmament. This explanation sounds like a retrospective version of the Aiken solution to the Vietnam War: Declare victory and go home.

• Anxiety shift? What people really demand from arms control talks is not that they succeed but that they go on. People always have some anxiety about nuclear war, but it only turns to political agitation when they feel that the people in charge do not share the anxiety. As soon as Mr. Reagan promised to worry about the issue and take over the burden, the movement faded.

• Nuclear winter? That new idea, promulgated by the movement's friends, turned into a

classic political boomerang. The notion that only a small number of nuclear detonations would destroy mankind was meant to galvanize the anti-nuclear movement. But it makes plain that the freeze, or any other plan to control nuclear arms — even George Kennan's idea to cut them in half — would still leave the world on the eve of nuclear winter. The only solution to "winter" lies in near total disarmament, and beatific visions do not sell terribly well in America.

• "Star wars"? Another new idea, this one hatched by an enemy. It did not, of course, make anybody stop believing in the anti-nuclear movement, but it confused its argument. The freeze had been fueled by an abhorrence of deterrence and the balance of terror that underpins it. But to oppose a nuclear defense meant having to argue in favor of deterrence. "Star wars" has turned the anti-nuclear case against itself.

• Nov. 6? The freeze party carried Minnesota. • The media? In a development that will interest the right, Mother Jones magazine blames a media "blackout" for the freeze's demise. This

comes from (Jesse Helms, take note) the media's "pro-establishment bias." It seems only fair: They make you and they break you. The problem with this theory is that it overlooks Nov. 6.

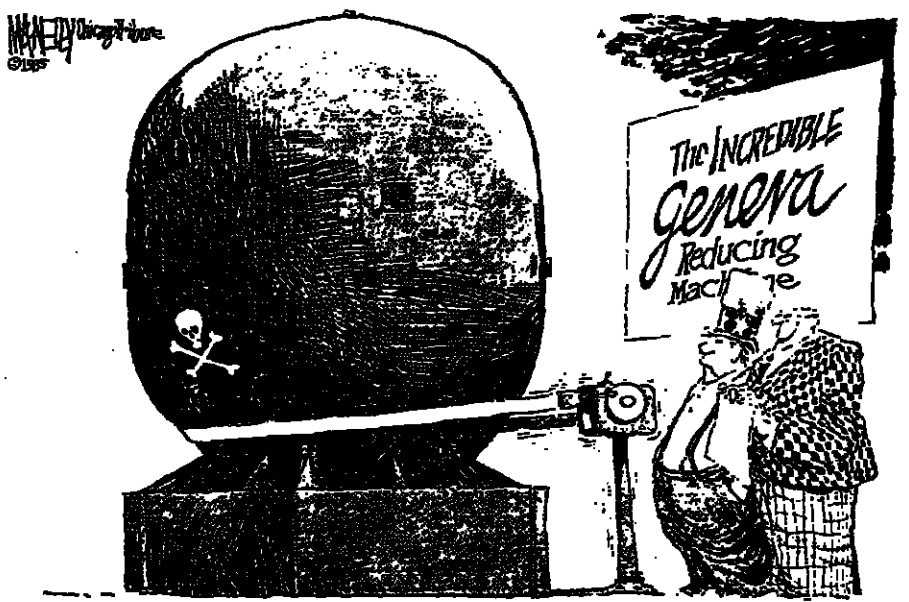
The anti-nuclear movement of the '80s, born in Europe and matured in the United States, has now moved south. (It had trouble moving east.) It has set sail for New Zealand, now officially anti-nuclear. New Zealand will not receive ships of the U.S. Navy for fear they may be nuclear. Its people and sheep sleep better now.

This is not the end, however. No doubt the movement will come north again. A new generation will someday ask the same questions, explore the same alternatives and rediscover the same hard truth: that deterrence is both inescapable and indispensable. Meanwhile, the movement will have to live on memories.

I called my doctor to ask about an X-ray-like device called nuclear magnetic resonance. "Magnetic resonance imaging," he corrected me. "We can't use the word nuclear anymore."

There once was an anti-nuclear movement in America with the power to change the name of medical devices. Tell your children.

Washington Post Writers Group.



Sanctions Might Get the West's Message to Pretoria

By Flora Lewis

PARIS — The slow-burning fuse of racism in South Africa is getting shorter. It is hard to determine whether the Reagan policy of "constructive engagement" made the deteriorating situation worse. Certainly it has not made anything better.

White South Africans risk being caught between their own extremists and rising black fury. The police measures have destroyed the last shreds of pretense that the system aimed for independent development for blacks. The whites have the guns. The blacks' only power is their numbers. But if confrontation is allowed to escalate, there will not be much room for accustomed security and comfort in between.

Just because it is Western, with a capacity to produce war and the infrastructure of a modern society, South Africa has a responsibility to a

continent that is foundering in tragedy. But it seems to be scurrying lemming-style into its own abyss.

Constructive engagement was advanced by Washington on the premise that the regime in Pretoria really did want to find a way out of its self-made dilemma. There was no historic inevitability about apartheid; it was imposed in steps of increasing severity after World War II. South Africa could have evolved in another way. But it didn't, and the recent steps to modify the system have been too wide of the realities of everyday life, too reluctant to address the central issue of legal equality, to be taken as a sign of regret and a desire to correct the terrible mistake.

So the democratic West now has the unhappy task of making clear to South Africa's leaders what they do not want to see for themselves: They are on a path of disaster.

Sanctions are a poor tool of international relations as a general rule. The effect is seldom more than symbolic. But symbolism is critically important in the South African case. There is nothing beyond it but force. Black militants have acted wily that the democracies seem to get worked up about South Africa only when there is violence. Blacks would hurt most. But they have not been given much evidence of consistent interest in the cause of justice without upheaval. They, too, need to hear the United States speak up firmly.

This is said in much sympathy and awareness of the dreadful dangers ahead of South Africa. Willy-nilly the United States is involved. It must act to head off the worst.

The New York Times.

A State of Emergency, Then More Emergency

By Eric Marsden

JOHANNESBURG — Reaction to President Pieter W. Botha's declaration of a state of emergency has been stronger than expected. The French government's decision to freeze new investments and recall its ambassador took Pretoria by surprise.

Despite the condemnation on all sides, Mr. Botha had little choice but to declare the emergency. Many Afrikaners agree with Andries Treurnicht, leader of the right-wing Conservative Party, that he should have done it sooner. It had become evident, since the March shootings at Uitenhage, that police using conventional methods were unable to cope with the growing unrest.

Pretoria apparently aims to defuse

the violence by mass arrests of community leaders who were trying to take control of townships after driving out councilors and black police men with mob violence. Most of the radical leaders support the United Democratic Front, which urges non-violent action but has been unable to control the teen-age mobs.

Anger is growing in thousands of black families over the current arrest rate of close to 200 people a day. The detainees are held incommunicado.

Opposition politicians and members of the Black Sash — a white women's group that fights for black

civil rights — fear revenge actions by the police. The Black Sash has spent months collecting affidavits from township residents alleging brutality by individual policemen. Allegations link the police to right-wing vigilantes responsible for last month's murder of four UDF leaders and the disappearance of many others.

Many black policemen have scores to settle. Some of their colleagues have been hacked to death; 306 policemen and their families have had their houses destroyed by arson.

Mr. Botha's breathing space is likely to be short. And when he does lift the emergency laws, he will still face the problem that led to the rioting — the exclusion of the black majority from the new constitution.

He was hoping to set up a negotiating forum of "moderate" blacks, but, at the instigation of ANC agents, radical forces have succeeded in destroying the local authority system. It is doubtful whether the emergency will make it possible to reinstate it.

Mr. Botha's ruling party sprang a surprise recently by calling for blacks opposed to "the system" to join the negotiating forum, to work out a new dispensation in which no racial group could dominate another. This is not likely to attract any takers. The ANC leadership-in-exile has said that there can be no negotiations unless they cover the dismantling of apartheid, and that proposals must be endorsed by "the entire democratic leadership of South Africa." This means that Nelson Mandela and others must be released, the ban on the ANC lifted and all exiles allowed to return.

There is an unbridgeable gulf between this demand and the "non-negotiables" laid down by Mr. Botha earlier this year: Whites "will not abdicate," there can be no unitary state based on one-man, one-vote, and there can be no fourth legislative chamber for blacks. No radical black leader would sit at the table faced with such a severely limited agenda.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, emerging as his people's leading spokesman, at least in the world's eyes, has stressed that he is only standing in for Mr. Mandela and the others.

Mr. Mandela has already rejected Mr. Botha's offer to release him if he will renounce violence, apparently fearing a trick to split him from the current ANC leadership. Mr. Botha is now under pressure to release him unconditionally, as a compassionate gesture to a man who has spent half his adult life behind bars.

That would probably not lead to peace talks unless the government drastically changed its terms, but it would earn a rare credit for South Africa and perhaps halt its slide into international isolation.

The writer is South African correspondent for The Sunday Times of London. He contributed this comment to the Los Angeles Times.

Watching The Dollar Cool Down

By Hobart Rowen

WASHINGTON — Since March, the U.S. dollar has been sliding from its peak values against other currencies. The Reagan administration welcomes gradual depreciation because that might counteract protectionist pressures in the U.S. Congress. Much of America's \$123-billion trade deficit of last year is blamed on the overvalued dollar.

Treasury Secretary James A. Baker 3d said in a Washington Post interview, "We're not displeased with the recent decline." On average the dollar is off about 13 percent from its peak.

That is little compared to the 74 percent increase on a trade-weighted basis from the third quarter of 1980 to this year's first quarter. But mindful of the troubles experienced by some of his predecessors who were accused of "letting the dollar down," Mr. Baker was careful not to set any lower target for the dollar.

Other officials have said privately that they would welcome an overall 20- to 25-percent decline.

A slide in the dollar has negative as well as positive implications. Imports would be more costly, causing new inflationary pressures. In addition, as Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker has been pointing out, a cheaper dollar provides less incentive for foreigners to buy Treasury bills and notes, meaning that an important source of financing for the budget deficit is threatened.

It would take a much more substantial decline in the dollar before there would be beneficial effects on the trade deficit or negative effects on inflation. And therein lies a dilemma for government officials and the Fed.

A "precipitous" decline in the dollar "is the greatest risk we have on the inflation front," Mr. Volcker told a House banking subcommittee. He pointed out that the Fed lets the dollar go too low, and foreign investors pull their funds out of the United States; interest rates would have to rise sharply to attract enough domestic money to cover the budget deficit.

Thus, Fed policy at the moment appears to be giving priority to keeping a heavy inflow of foreign capital to help finance the deficit.

Mr. Volcker, through the haze of his cigar smoke and sometimes obscure rhetoric, is trying to tell the markets that he does not want to risk a dramatic decline in the dollar by pursuing lower interest rates — even though lower rates would be welcome news for a sluggish economy. Yet, he promised, the Fed will still follow a monetary policy generous enough to fuel what it hopes will be an improving growth rate for the economy in the second half of this year.

The Fed is in the equivalent of a high-wire balancing act, and no one is sure it can bring it off. If Mr. Volcker brings it off "it would be a feat rarely if ever accomplished," says Henry Kaufman of Salomon Brothers.

So far, despite the plunge in interest rates since March — the six-month Treasury bill rate dropped to 7.25 percent from 10.5 before picking up slightly after Mr. Volcker's testimony — the United States remains attractive to most foreign investors as a "safe haven."

The Fed had hoped that President Reagan and Congress would get together on a budget-reduction package that would allow room to maneuver on monetary policy without risking serious new inflation.

The administration was counting on a deficit-reduction package of around \$50 billion this year and \$300 billion in the next four years. But prospects for that have been jolted by political realities on the Hill.

Added to the concern over the budget and trade deficits is doubt about President Reagan's health. Momentarily shaken by news of his cancer, the markets recovered with his quick response after surgery. But the medical assessment that about half of those afflicted with colon cancer die of the disease is a sobering thought, and may be one reason for the more recent market slide.

Another uncertainty relates to the future course of the Fed. Two governors known as "sound money" men and Volcker backers will leave this year and next: Lyle Gramley, who has announced his retirement, and Charles Partee, whose term expires next year and who is not expected to be renominated by President Reagan.

Theoretically, Mr. Volcker could find himself in a minority on the seven-member board. Financial markets worry that Mr. Volcker might quit in such a situation.

The Washington Post.

LETTERS

Three Simple Questions

Caroline Fredrickson thinks "Youth Should March on Washington" (July 15). She has me wondering what would happen if enough youngsters got together in the debtor countries and formed a coalition powerful enough to cancel those countries' debts. "Why should we keep paying high taxes and be submitted to an austerity plan," they might reason. "Just to pay back the monstrous debts incurred by our ancestors?"

"Why shouldn't we cut the nominal value of our government bonds in two or in four," would similarly reason the young U.S. citizens.

And why not holiday on the moon?

JACQUES LINDON.

Paris.

The Simple Idea of Help

Westerners would seem to need Live Aid concerts at least as much as the designated African beneficiaries. There is too little optimism in the air today; present politics and economics do not encourage young people to look to the future. The simple idea of helping the hungry is welcome.

J.R. AVISON.

Hastings, England.

FROM OUR JULY 27 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1910: America to Prop Up Liberia

LONDON — Nothing less than the apparition of the United States as a new power in the Old World, says the "Daily Mail," is indicated by an announcement by Reuters agency. This foreshadows the undertaking by the United States of responsibility of controlling the Republic of Liberia. The announcement follows the visit of an American commission to Liberia to deal with the finances of the country, which have fallen into disorder. A debt of £100,000 at 7 percent was contracted in 1871, but interest has not been regularly paid, and though only a comparatively small sum is needed to place the finances in order Liberia's credit is nil. A loan will now be raised under American auspices to pay off this debt, which is mostly due to British subjects, and the United States, France and Germany will participate in floating it. Great Britain apparently being excluded.

1935: 'Bounty' Film Crew Overboard

SAN PEDRO, California — Seventy-five movie workers aboard a replica of H.M.S. Bounty, filming the famous story of the mutiny on the old square-rigger, were pitched into the sea during a squall which struck the vessel near San Miguel Island, about fifty miles from Santa Barbara (on July 26). It was reported that the ship had sunk, taking three engineers with it. A cameraman is also missing, and more than \$50,000 worth of motion picture equipment has been lost. A Coast Guard cutter is rushing to the rescue. The cinematic Bounty was a barge that had been transformed into a reproduction of the famous 90-foot vessel shipwrecked in the South Seas by Captain Bligh about 150 years ago. Clark Gable, Franchot Tone and Charles Laughton are starred in the movie version of "Mutiny on the Bounty," but none of them was aboard during the squall.

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Turkish Imam on Trial For Writing Sex Guide

Author of Best-Selling Book Charged With Urging Return to Islamic Custom

By Henry Kamm
New York Times Service

ANKARA—A prominent Muslim cleric has gone on trial in Istanbul on a charge of "advocating a return to Islamic practices in social life" in publishing a best-selling book, "Sexual Life According to Islam."

The prosecutor demanded seven and a half years of imprisonment for the cleric, Imam Ali Riza Demircan, as the trial began in the state security court on Thursday.

The imam also faces a later trial before a regular court on a charge of "defaming and insulting Islam and the Prophet Mohammed" in the book.

The accusation of advocating the application of Islamic law is the more serious charge by far. Although about 99 percent of the more than 50 million Turks are Muslims, the republic founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1923 is determinedly secular.

The modern upsurge of Muslim fundamentalism in many parts of the Islamic world has made governments in Turkey especially sensitive to stirrings that suggest a call to introduce aspects of Islamic law as the law of the land.

Imam Demircan's two-volume work, a mixture of guidance on sexual technique and admonitions to follow his interpretations of Islamic scriptural morality, is considered a violation of the tradition of a country that has been slow to follow the international trend toward candor about sex, and it provoked concern among authorities who seek to protect the secular basis of modern Turkey.



Imam Ali Riza Demircan, the author of "Sexual Life According to Islam," with the woman who published the book, Mahi Gungor, in Istanbul where he is being tried.

whether the graphic examples the imam cited derive from accurate renderings of the Arabic scriptures or from loose translations and personal interpretation.

According to Imam Demircan, Islam requires of women total sexual subservience to their husbands. The imam also described Mohammed as urging men to satisfy immediately all stirrings of desire with one of their wives, so that "you will not be tempted into doing something sacrilegious," such as adultery. At the same time, the book emphasized Islam's prohibitions against adultery, homosexuality and sexual deviation.

Imam Demircan recalled in detail the specific penalties for sexual

Italian Communists to Meet on Setbacks

By Loren Jenkins
Washington Post Service

ROME — The Italian Communist Party, stung by recent electoral defeats that put in question its reputation as the most successful and largest Communist movement in the West, has decided to convene a special congress aimed at revitalization.

Political observers said the move to call a congress a year ahead of schedule and to assign its preparation to a 70-member committee instead of leaving it, as usual, to the top leaders, reflected the state of turmoil among the Communists.

The decision came Wednesday at the end of a three-day meeting of the party's Central Committee. According to a senator who attended, the standing of the movement was hotly debated and, by implication, the year-old leadership of Alessandro Natta was questioned.

The issues, said the senator, were two election failures this year, the party's apparent "identity crisis" and its isolation after two years of government by a five-party coalition under the Socialist prime minister, Bettino Craxi.

He also agreed that things have to change. "The senator said, 'What we couldn't agree on was how. That



Alessandro Natta

will now be left to the party congress to determine."

The Central Committee meeting culminated a period of self-analysis initiated by Mr. Natta after the defeat in June of a Communist-proposed referendum that challenged Mr. Craxi's plan to end automatic pay increases pegged to the cost of living.

In 1976, 34.5 percent of the electorate voted Communist, and the party controlled most large cities. In 1983, the party won just under 30 percent. Its performance in provincial elections two months ago was only slightly higher. The failure to rally even the working class was a shock to the party.

Analysts say the problem of the Communists is that, since the advent of the first non-Christian Democratic prime ministers in the 1980s, the party no longer attracts voters as a sole viable alternative to the Christian Democrats, who had been dominant since World War II.

When the Communist Party's fortunes were at their height, under Enrico Berlinguer in the 1970s, even Christian Democrats began to believe in an inevitable sharing of power with the Communists.

All that changed in the 1980s when the Socialist Party, under the leadership of Mr. Craxi, broke out of its own ideological isolation to play a role as a power broker between the larger Christian Democratic and Communist parties.

"The Communist problem is simply that today Italian voters understand there are alternatives to Communist and Christian Democratic rule," said Paolo Garimberti, Rome editor of the Turin daily La Stampa. "That has left the Communists isolated and alone. Until they can find a way of forging alliances with the Socialists, whom they now just attack, or some other natural political ally, they will remain in the wilderness."

Mr. Natta, 67, was elected to head the party in June 1984, when its fortunes were already showing signs of decline. He has been blamed by many stalwarts for the recent sense of drift.

Responding to internal pressures, Mr. Natta called for an open debate to "reflect on our policies."

In response, leader after leader offered interviews in the press to air their opinions, underlining that the party was badly split about its future, and even about the present.

Luciano Larini, head of the powerful General Union of Italian Workers, complained in print that "there is a loss of imagination, of contact with reality and the problems of Italian society."

Mr. Natta was on the defensive Monday when he addressed the Central Committee. He was said to have called for a return to the party's traditional "democratic, centralist" meaning disciplined submission to leadership decisions.

Austrian Coalition Threatened by Wine Scandal

VIENNA — Chancellor Fred Sinowatz demanded an end Friday to political squabbling over blame for Austria's wine scandal, which could cause trouble for his uneasy coalition government.

Mr. Sinowatz spoke as the authorities in Austria and in other countries recovered more wine contaminated by a poisonous sweetener chemical, normally used in automobile antifreeze. Austria's agricultural minister also promised Friday a new wine law that would be the strictest in the world.

The ministry gave the ambassadors of 35 nations a list of contaminated wine. Bottles have already been found in Japan and the United States, but most concern has been in West Germany, the main importer.

Several members of the two-year-old government have been touched by financial and other scandals in the past year and the government has been forced into a number of embarrassing policy reverses.

"We have to rally together," Mr. Sinowatz said, "to draw the consequences from this scandal, caused by a few criminal businessmen, and ensure it cannot be repeated."

Any internal disputes would only compound the damage already caused to Austrian trade and its image abroad, he said.

The authorities have issued arrest warrants for 10 persons accused of adding the chemical diethylene glycol to wine to make it sweeter. In some wines they have found lethal levels of the chemical, which can cause nerve, brain and kidney damage.

Mr. Haiden said that his ministry was preparing new rules for checking and labeling wine. "The Austrian wine law will be the strictest in the world," he said. There would be a ban on adding sweeteners of any kind.

A spokesman for the Austrian government's wine marketing body said it was drawing up a list of wines that had been cleared by inspectors of containing chemicals.

Four West German wines, all from the Rheinhessen region, were included on the new list of 250 following tests this week that showed they contained diethylene glycol.



27 July 1980

On the fifth anniversary of the death of H.M. Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the Shah of Iran.

whose vision for his united country embraced the past, influences the present and will shape the future. From Hossein Daneshvar who was honored to have known and served him.

"Iran has lost an effective leader who, far from being parochial, had a better understanding of the great forces that move the world than leaders of most major countries."

Richard Nixon, in "The Real War."

Baltic Emigrés Start Cruise To Protest Rule by Soviet

STOCKHOLM — About 400 Baltic emigrés sailed Friday on a cruise off the coasts of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to protest Soviet rule.

The sailing was delayed by a bomb scare. Swedish police carried out a full-scale search of Baltic Star, the Panamanian-registered liner chartered for the cruise, after a Stockholm newspaper said it had received an anonymous letter threatening to blow the ship up.

The Soviet press has described the cruise, due to reach Helsinki on Sunday for a human rights demonstration, as a provocation aimed at disrupting the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki accords on European security and cooperation.

The ceremonies are to be attended by 35 foreign ministers in Helsinki next week.

The cruise organizers said they had asked the Swedish Navy to keep their ship under electronic surveillance to detect any attempt by the Soviet Navy to interfere. They said the liner would stay in international waters while off the Soviet coast.

Those on board included about 100 Americans of Baltic origin, 100 Swedes of Baltic origin, some members of Sweden's parliament, journalists and Vladimir K. Bukovsky, a Soviet dissident who left a Soviet labor camp for the West in 1976.

The organizers said they would throw wreaths into the sea in memory of Baltic who, they said, had died trying to defect to the West.

But they said that, contrary to Soviet reports, they had not plan to beam radio broadcasts or send messages in balloons or containers.

The Soviet Union annexed Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in 1940.

Weinberger Says Reagan Remark Justified on Soviet

WASHINGTON — Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger said that President Ronald Reagan was justified in calling the Soviet Union an "evil empire" because that spotlighted "the coercive and tyrannical system of our Communist adversaries."

In an address Thursday before leaders of 30 nations attending a conference of the International Democrat Union, Mr. Weinberger referred to a remark made by President Reagan in a 1983 speech.

Mr. Reagan denounced Soviet communism as "the focus of evil in the modern world" in a March 1983 address to church leaders in Orlando, Florida, and urged them to beware of the temptation of ignoring "the aggressive impulses of an evil empire."

Mr. Weinberger told the conference that he deplored the practice of lumping the United States and the Soviet Union together as "superpowers," saying that implied a "moral symmetry."

Among those attending the conference were Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain and Vice President George Bush, who were among the founders of the organization of conservative politicians in 1983.

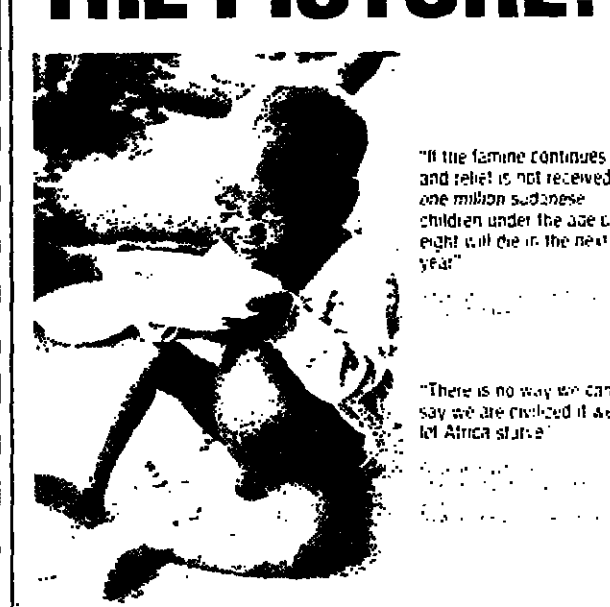
U.S. May Test New AIDS Drug

WASHINGTON — An experimental drug used in France against AIDS, or acquired immune deficiency syndrome, may soon be available in the United States for treating victims of the disease, a U.S. health official said Friday.

C. McClain Haddow, chief of staff at the department of health and human services, said the French manufacturer of the drug, known as HPA 23, had filed an application to test it in the United States.

It was disclosed Tuesday that an American film star, Rock Hudson, has the disease that cripples a victim's immune system. Medical sources in Paris said Mr. Hudson had been treated with HPA 23 while hospitalized in France.

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ARTS / LEISURE

1984-85 Auction Season Figures Show Sotheby's Widening Lead Over Christie's

International Herald Tribune
LONDON — The 1984-85 season, ending this month, has been brilliant for Sotheby's and reasonably good for Christie's. Sotheby's has substantially increased the distance separating it from its competitor.

With worldwide sales totaling \$502 million (\$642 million by the company's accounting), Sotheby's says it has progressed 25 percent over the 1983-84 season. Christie's admits virtual stagnation, its worldwide sales moving up slightly from \$334.1 million to \$337.5 million.

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A detailed comparison of their financial performance is difficult because the two houses do not produce comparable figures. Sotheby's, which became a private company with A. Alfred Taubman's takeover in 1983, refuses to divulge regional figures, but it would seem to have scored more heavily against Christie's in the United States. Christie's, which does release a national breakdown, had sales totaling \$204.3 million in the United States, down 2 percent from last season's \$209 million. One source said Sotheby's U.S. market share in pictures of every category, from Old Masters to Victorian and Contemporary paintings (i.e., kitsch), reached 71 percent from January to June 1985.

Sotheby's lead in this field is important because pictures represent the heaviest contingent in the art market. Sotheby's had two worldwide figures available in this area: Impressionists, Contemporary paintings and photography totaled

\$181.7 million this season, up from \$110.5 million; other paintings, including Old Masters, the Victorian schools and their contemporary counterparts, rose from \$101.8 million to \$116.3 million.

The trend might accelerate in Sotheby's favor. In the United States, the furor caused by Christie's admission that in 1981 David Bathurst, then its New York president, had lied in declaring that three paintings were sold when only one had found a buyer above the reserve, has harmed Christie's image. Sotheby's press release says little beyond pointing to its 25.3 percent increase in sales. One significant fact does emerge: Fifty-one persons will be laid off in the United States, bringing Sotheby's worldwide staff down to about 1,350. The explanation for the job cutting comes at the end: "It is quite clear... that the costs of doing business in New York and in London are dramatically different, as... it adds, tantalizingly... 'are the markets, and this implies different strategies.'"

In New York certain types of sales will no longer be held, such as Japanese works of art (for which read "objets d'art"; sales of prints will continue), musical instruments and "collectibles," which may mean anything from badges to corkscrews or items connected with the Beatles. Experts, Sotheby's reassuringly notes, will be retained in New York "to provide a full service for American clients." This means they will be there to pack off to London any items valuable enough to justify the effort.

Most significant, perhaps, is a defensive tone that creeps into the release. Michael Ainslie, Sotheby's top executive under Taubman, is quoted as saying that the management will "question some of the traditional focus on volume and expansion at any cost." His next statement, that this "is not a reaction to difficult times nor to a soft market," will be greeted with skepticism by professionals. Too many will remember Sotheby's late March sale of Impressionist and Modern Paintings, where 46 percent in value, in one session, failed to sell. In April there was a difficult moment in the Islamic week when more than 24 percent of the manuscripts and leaves failed to reach their reserves. In one Old Master



CAPITOL ART — Larry Keck, a conservator at the U.S. Capitol, restoring one of 24 medallion murals by Constantino Brumidi, an Italian immigrant who worked as an artist in the Capitol from 1855 until 1880 and also painted two larger murals. The Capitol collection is one of the most important in Washington, with 785 pieces of art, many of them depicting scenes from U.S. history.

Paintings sale, the bought-in rate was 27 percent.

Nor was Sotheby's alone in this uncomfortable position. A worse disaster was suffered by Christie's in New York in early June, when two-thirds of a one-man Old Master "collection" apparently failed to reach the reserve prices.

The two auction houses can no longer ignore the market reaction against speculation. This is apparently what is meant by Ainslie's remark that "the market proved more price sensitive and showed some resistance to quick resales." Most extraordinary is the exclu-

sive focus in Sotheby's release, dated "London, 25 July," on management changes in New York. Julian Thompson, chairman of Sotheby's International and of Sotheby's London, is neither mentioned nor quoted. Yet one would have expected his name to crop up in the paragraph that blandly refers to what is clearly Sotheby's first top-management upheaval since Taubman bought the company. James J. Lally is replaced as president of Sotheby's North America by John L. Marion, previously chairman of Sotheby's North America. Lally is the man who joined Thompson, a leading expert in Chinese art, in

building up Sotheby's Chinese sales in Hong Kong. Lally will leave Sotheby's at the end of this year, a major loss to the company. Lally is one of the most highly regarded experts on early Chinese art operating in the auction world. His reputation is surpassed only by that of Thompson, who has been in the field longer. Thompson, who built up Sotheby's Chinese stronghold in Hong Kong, was running it jointly with Lally, who enjoys the same high standing within the Chinese collecting and dealing community as he does with American collectors.

No explanation is given for Lally's departure. Marion, an auctioneer, probably outshines all his colleagues in the United States, but he says no claim to expertise. Diana D. Brooks, a financial expert, is promoted to chief operating officer and will share part of his responsibilities. However, brilliant they may be in their respective domains, Sotheby's North American management will inevitably be less attuned to the specific problems of the art market and, at least as important, to the psychological attitudes that prevail here.

Elements of uncertainty have thus been introduced into the American domains of the two leading auction houses. This may not show too much in the fall, since most negotiations concerning forthcoming sales would have been concluded by late July. The moment of truth will come next spring, when the U.S. economy will most likely go through its first significant cooling-down period since 1981-1982.

Phillips Reports Sales

The third-largest London auction house, Phillips, which also has a New York operation, said Thursday that it had record sales of \$57 million in 1984-1985, an increase of 30 percent. The Associated Press reported from London.

Wild Documents Sold

A New York book dealer, John Fleming, paid \$19,800, almost three times Sotheby's top estimate, for the deed of separation between Oscar Wilde and his wife, Constance. The Associated Press reported from London. The document was signed by the writer on the evening before he was released from prison at Reading in 1897

after serving two years for homosexual practices.

Fleming also paid £2,750 pounds each for two love letters from Mrs. Wilde to Arthur Lee Humphreys, a writer and publisher who managed Hachards bookshop in Piccadilly. In the same auction Monday a 387-page vellum notebook in which William Butler Yeats wrote drafts of his poems between 1930 and 1933 was bought by an Oxford

book dealer for £275,000, almost twice Sotheby's top estimate.

On Tuesday at Sotheby's, six letters to King George IV from his estranged wife, Maria Fitzherbert, were sold for £13,200 to an anonymous private bidder. Another private collector paid £93,500 for a copy of King Charles II's Declaration of Breda, signed in the Netherlands before the monarchy was restored in 1660.

Christie's Asks Law Firm To Check Sales Practices

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — Christie's announced Wednesday that it had retained a law firm to advise it in connection with an urgent internal review of its auction practices and procedures.

The review was undertaken after a Christie's executive, David Bathurst, resigned his key posts with the firm, admitting that he had lied when he said three paintings were sold at an auction in May 1981. Only one had been sold.

"In light of recent developments, we are taking a detailed look at all our business practices," Christopher Burge, president of Christie's New York, said in announcing that it had retained the firm of Simpson Thacher and Bartlett.

He said in an interview that the firm had been retained because it "brings an objective eye to this look at ourselves." Asked if the firm would be looking at the actions of any individuals, he said, "Absolutely not."

Burge said the review would cover "everything from the moment something is consigned to the moment it leaves our premises."

Bathurst's lie in 1981 was intended to minimize the damage a bad sale can have on the art market. Only one of eight paintings was sold because the rest failed to meet the reserve price agreed upon secretly in advance between the seller and auctioneer.

The auction houses make their money on both ends of a sale. Buyers are charged about 10 percent of the sales price. Sellers generally pay 10 to 15 percent of the sales figure, but that commission is negotiable and sometimes is dropped in the competition for a desirable work.

Even experienced bidders can leave a sale without knowing who bought what, or if anything was even sold.

The reason is the reserve. A piece that fails to fetch the reserve price is said to be "bought in," and is returned to the seller. Auctioneers usually do not announce when a work is bought in, but if word gets out the work is said to be "burned."

Angelo Aponte, New York's Commissioner of Consumer Affairs, said he had received numerous complaints about auction house practices, including reports that they sometimes secretly join in bidding on a work. "This whole practice that we are seeing now seems to reflect that the auction houses maintain artificially supported prices," he said. "They, in effect, can control the market any way they want."

He also defended the hidden reserve. Without it, he said, there would be a danger of dealers joining forces to hold down prices.

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New 'Tannhäuser' Opens Bayreuth Wagner Festival

The Associated Press

BAYREUTH, West Germany — This year's Wagner festival at Bayreuth opened with a new production of "Tannhäuser" featuring Richard Vanecko in the title role and Cheryl Studer as Elisabeth.

The opera was directed by the Italian composer and conductor Giuseppe Sinopoli, with choreography by Ivan Marko of Hungary. About 58,000 tickets have been sold for 30 performances of Wagner works during the festival, which

opened Thursday. The other works to be staged, in addition to the "Ring" cycle, are "The Flying Dutchman," conducted by Wolfgang Nedelmann, and "Parsifal," under the direction of James Levine.

Organizers said they had received more than 250,000 requests for tickets this year, at prices ranging from 7 DM (\$2.50) to 200 DM. Among audience members at the opening performance was the West German foreign minister, Hans Dietrich Genscher, and the Viennese painter Ernst Fuchs.

Petit 'Blue Angel' Moves to the Met

United Press International

NEW YORK — Natalia Makarova has opened at the Metropolitan Opera in the full-evening Berlin Opera Ballet version of Heinrich Mann's novel "The Blue Angel." The production plays through Aug. 3 with Makarova dancing all performances.

The choreographer, Roland Petit, who dances the male lead, and his co-librettists, Marius Constant and Gert Reinhold, reverted to the

novel's concept of the Makarova role as an ordinary, opportunistic young entertainer rather than the immoral, sadistic woman portrayed in the 1930 Josef von Sternberg film by Marlene Dietrich.

This is the first full-length ballet created specifically for Makarova. 44. The two basic sets by Josef Svoboda use a few chandeliers, gauzy hangings and bits of furniture to serve for many different scenes.

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 I DON'T KNOW WHY IT'S SO HARD TO FIND SOMEONE LIKE, BUT IT IS. ALL THE GOOD MEN IN THIS CITY ARE EITHER MARRIED OR GAY.
 NO! MARCH, THAT'S A BIT OF A CLICHE, DON'T YOU THINK?
 HEY, JOGGING SHORTS! YEAH, WHAT'S THE STORY, MARRIED OR GAY?
 BOTH.
 SEE IT'S JUST GETTING WORSE.
 GUY

NYSE Most Actives				
Symbol	High	Low	Chg.	Vol.
PHILIPS	12 1/2	12 1/4	+1/4	12 1/2
Unocal	12 1/2	12 1/4	+1/4	12 1/2
Unicom	12 1/2	12 1/4	+1/4	12 1/2
IBM	12 1/2	12 1/4	+1/4	12 1/2
AT&T	12 1/2	12 1/4	+1/4	12 1/2
AT&T	12 1/2	12 1/4	+1/4	12 1/2
AT&T	12 1/2	12 1/4	+1/4	12 1/2
AT&T	12 1/2	12 1/4	+1/4	12 1/2
AT&T	12 1/2	12 1/4	+1/4	12 1/2
AT&T	12 1/2	12 1/4	+1/4	12 1/2

Dow Jones Averages					
	Open	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Indus	1357.26	1365.50	1345.21	1357.08	+ 1.67
Trans	684.69	691.75	681.18	688.20	+ 2.92
Util	158.10	158.96	156.44	157.42	+ 1.07
Comp	556.57	561.76	553.20	558.10	+ 0.93

NYSE Dailies	
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NYSE Index				
High	Low	Chg.	Vol.	Chg.
111.48	110.99	+0.49	111.35	+0.36
111.48	110.99	+0.49	111.35	+0.36
111.48	110.99	+0.49	111.35	+0.36
111.48	110.99	+0.49	111.35	+0.36
111.48	110.99	+0.49	111.35	+0.36

Friday's NYSE Closing				
Vol.	4 P.M.	10 P.M.	10 P.M.	10 P.M.
106,939,000	106,939,000	106,939,000	106,939,000	106,939,000
106,939,000	106,939,000	106,939,000	106,939,000	106,939,000
106,939,000	106,939,000	106,939,000	106,939,000	106,939,000
106,939,000	106,939,000	106,939,000	106,939,000	106,939,000

AMEX Diaries				
Class	Prev.	Chg.	Vol.	Chg.
Advanced	2.00	+0.01	2.00	+0.01
Declined	2.00	+0.01	2.00	+0.01
Unchanged	2.00	+0.01	2.00	+0.01
Total Issues	2.00	+0.01	2.00	+0.01
New Issues	2.00	+0.01	2.00	+0.01

NASDAQ Index				
Close	Chg.	Vol.	Chg.	Vol.
204.00	+0.10	204.00	+0.10	204.00
204.00	+0.10	204.00	+0.10	204.00
204.00	+0.10	204.00	+0.10	204.00
204.00	+0.10	204.00	+0.10	204.00
204.00	+0.10	204.00	+0.10	204.00

AMEX Most Actives				
Symbol	High	Low	Chg.	Vol.
Domestic	12 1/2	12 1/4	+1/4	12 1/2
Unocal	12 1/2	12 1/4	+1/4	12 1/2
Unicom	12 1/2	12 1/4	+1/4	12 1/2
IBM	12 1/2	12 1/4	+1/4	12 1/2
AT&T	12 1/2	12 1/4	+1/4	12 1/2

Dow Jones Bond Averages				
Close	Chg.	Vol.	Chg.	Vol.
7.20	+0.05	7.20	+0.05	7.20
7.20	+0.05	7.20	+0.05	7.20
7.20	+0.05	7.20	+0.05	7.20
7.20	+0.05	7.20	+0.05	7.20
7.20	+0.05	7.20	+0.05	7.20

NYSE Diaries				
Class	Prev.	Chg.	Vol.	Chg.
Advanced	2.00	+0.01	2.00	+0.01
Declined	2.00	+0.01	2.00	+0.01
Unchanged	2.00	+0.01	2.00	+0.01
Total Issues	2.00	+0.01	2.00	+0.01
New Issues	2.00	+0.01	2.00	+0.01

Odd-Lot Trading in N.Y.				
Buy	Sell	Chg.	Vol.	Chg.
100	100	+0.01	100	+0.01
100	100	+0.01	100	+0.01
100	100	+0.01	100	+0.01
100	100	+0.01	100	+0.01
100	100	+0.01	100	+0.01

Standard & Poor's Index				
High	Low	Chg.	Vol.	Chg.
111.48	110.99	+0.49	111.35	+0.36
111.48	110.99	+0.49	111.35	+0.36
111.48	110.99	+0.49	111.35	+0.36
111.48	110.99	+0.49	111.35	+0.36
111.48	110.99	+0.49	111.35	+0.36

AMEX Sales				
Class	Prev.	Chg.	Vol.	Chg.
Advanced	2.00	+0.01	2.00	+0.01
Declined	2.00	+0.01	2.00	+0.01
Unchanged	2.00	+0.01	2.00	+0.01
Total Issues	2.00	+0.01	2.00	+0.01
New Issues	2.00	+0.01	2.00	+0.01

AMEX Stock Index				
High	Low	Chg.	Vol.	Chg.
204.00	203.50	+0.50	204.00	+0.50
204.00	203.50	+0.50	204.00	+0.50
204.00	203.50	+0.50	204.00	+0.50
204.00	203.50	+0.50	204.00	+0.50
204.00	203.50	+0.50	204.00	+0.50

Dow Stocks Gain, Others Mixed

United Press International

NEW YORK — Blue-chip stocks ended higher Friday on the New York Stock Exchange, but the broader market finished mixed for the second consecutive day.

Traders said a buy program executed by one Wall Street brokerage house pushed the Dow Jones industrial average up more than six points late in the afternoon. But the rally was short-lived.

The Dow Jones finished with a gain of 3.47 to 1,357.08. For the week, it rose 2.46. Declines outnumbered advances by an 8-7 ratio. Volume totaled 106.95 million, down from 123.29 million Thursday.

Technology and oil issues and other stocks that would benefit from an economic pickup continued to attract some buying interest. But otherwise the market was "lethargic," said Trude Latimer of Evans & Co.

"The market is a little bit concerned about the potential for rising interest rates," said Harry Laubscher of Paine Webber. The Federal Reserve is not expected to push interest rates lower soon and some analysts believe that when the Treasury sells what is expected to be more than \$20 billion of new notes and bonds in its next refinancing operation, rates could go higher.

Mr. Laubscher characterized the market as "skittish" and "worried."

Phillips Petroleum was the most active issue, up 1/4 to 13 1/2. Unocal followed, up 1/4 to 31.

Other oil stocks also rose on hope that Congress might pass an oil-import fee as part of its current budget negotiations. Atlantic Richfield was up 1/4 to 60 1/2. Chevron 3/4 to 38 1/2. Occidental Petroleum 1/4 to 34 1/2. and Texas Oil and Gas

was 1/4 to 17 1/2. Dominion Resources was off 1/4 to 29 1/2.

Merrill Lynch was the third most active issue, up 1 1/2 to 34 1/2.

Utility issues continued weaker. Middle South Utilities was off 1/4 to 14 1/2. and Pacific Gas & Electric was off 1/4 to 18 1/2.

Warner-Lambert was off 1/4 to 39 1/2 after plunging 4 1/2 Thursday when a First Boston analyst advising selling the issue. In other drug issues, Baxter Travenol lost 1/4 to 14 1/2. Upjohn fell 1/4 to 11 1/2. and Merck declined 1/4 to 11 1/2.

A.H. Robins fell 2 1/4 for its third consecutive big decline after it took a \$15-million charge against second-quarter profits.

Technology stocks firmed. IBM advanced 1/4 to 132. Digital Equipment added 1/4 to 104 1/2. Cray Research climbed 2 1/2 to 97 1/2. Data General lost 1 1/2 to 41 1/2 after advancing 3 1/2 Thursday when it reported higher earnings.

Telephone issues were mixed. AT&T increased 1/4 to 21 1/2. but Nynex, U.S. West and Pacific Telesoft softened.

Food stocks, which did well early in the year as the focus of takeover speculation, were mixed. Quaker Oats added 1/4 to 48 1/2. Heinz rose 1/4 to 42. Ralston Purina (ex-dividend) was down 1/4 to 42. Campbell Soup was up 1/4 to 74 1/2. Pillsbury (ex-dividend) lost 1/4 to 50 1/2. General Foods fell 1/4 to 77 1/2.

In other blue-chip stocks, General Motors advanced 2 1/2 to 70 1/2. U.S. Steel added 1/4 to 29 1/2. and American Express fell 1/4 to 43 1/2, all in active trading.

Cummins Engine was the session's biggest loser, down 3 1/2 to 65 1/2. Union Carbide edged up 1/4 to 51. Reichhold Chemical lost 2 1/2 to 39 1/2. Caterpillar Tractor was ahead 1/4 to 38 1/2.

12 Month High Low Stock

Symbol	High	Low	Chg.	Vol.
100	100	100	+0.01	100
100	100	100	+0.01	100
100	100	100	+0.01	100
100	100	100	+0.01	100
100	100	100	+0.01	100

Symbol	High	Low	Chg.	Vol.
100	100	100	+0.01	100
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Symbol	High	Low	Chg.	Vol.
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Symbol	High	Low	Chg.	Vol.
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Symbol	High	Low	Chg.	Vol.
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Symbol	High	Low	Chg.	Vol.
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Symbol	High	Low	Chg.	Vol.
100	100	100	+0.01	100
100	100	100	+0.01	100
100	100	100	+0.01	100
100	100	100	+0.01	100
100	100	100	+0.01	100

12 Month High Low Stock

Symbol	High	Low	Chg.	Vol.
100	100	100	+0.01	100
100	100	100	+0.01	100
100	100	100	+0.01	100
100	100	100	+0.01	100
100	100	100	+0.01	100

Symbol	High	Low	Chg.	Vol.
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Symbol	High	Low	Chg.	Vol.
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Symbol	High	Low	Chg.	Vol.
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100	100	100	+0.01	100

Symbol	High	Low	Chg.	Vol.
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100	100	100	+0.01	100
100	100	100	+0.01	100
100	100	100	+0.01	100
100	100	100	+0.01	100

Symbol

WEST AFRICA

A SPECIAL REPORT

SATURDAY-SUNDAY, JULY 27-28, 1985

Page 9

Rising Debt Load Is Forcing New Economic Solutions

ABIDJAN — Since 1983, the 16 nations of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), like much of the rest of the continent, have been forced by rising debt and restricted access to foreign capital to seek debt rescheduling and to conduct a serious rethinking of their development strategies.

At the end of 1983, the ECOWAS countries owed at least \$25 billion to Western creditors. Nigeria, by far the most populous of the ECOWAS members, accounted for an estimated 20 percent of all debt in sub-Saharan Africa. Economists point out that the debt of the entire region is small compared with that of major Third World debtor nations such as Mexico or Brazil, but is no less important when seen in the context of the African debtors' weak and narrowly based economies.

An official of the multinational African Development Bank (ADB) said: "We have been victims of someone else's debt crisis. At the beginning of the decade, African economies benefited from rapidly expanded commercial credit, but with the emergence of the Latin American debt crisis in 1983, African economies were abruptly cut off."

In fact, of the ECOWAS countries, only Nigeria and Ivory Coast owed large proportions of their total external debt to private banks. However, these two countries are very much the economic "motors" of the region, with 60 percent of the population and 80 percent of the gross domestic product. Their commercial-debt problems may well have precluded the access of other ECOWAS states to commercial capital.

The debt crisis afflicting the ECOWAS states must be seen as part of the continentwide development crisis; it is both a symptom and a contributing factor of the region's negative growth rates.

Adebayo Adedeji, executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, described 1984 as "Africa's worst year economically since the Great Depression," citing the "extremely unfavorable global economic environment and dramatic increases in Africa's external debt, interest rates and debt-servicing costs."

The commission has predicted a 2.5-percent decline in GDP for the ECOWAS region this year.

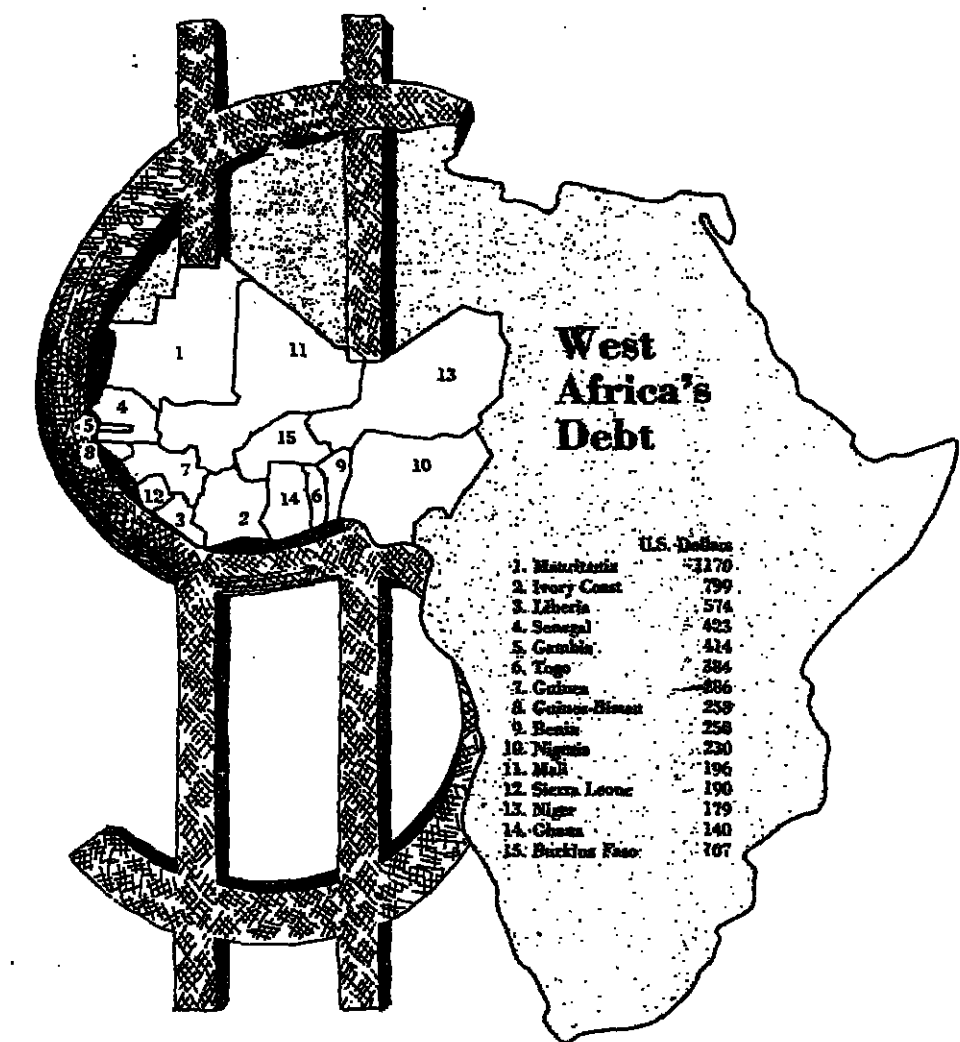
The factors leading to the sharp decline in West Africa's economic fortunes have been well catalogued: an ecological deterioration, including increasing desertification, drought and falling food production; rapid and unmanaged urbanization due to the above factors, plus the uneconomic remuneration of peasant farmers; a deterioration of terms of exchange, which has sharply reduced the purchasing power of the region's agri-

cultural and mineral exports; rising debt-servicing burdens, greatly aggravated by the rise of the U.S. dollar and skyrocketing interest rates; ill-conceived and poorly managed capital investments, many of which involved multilateral or bilateral aid participation; and uncontrolled population growth.

Many of the region's governments have responded to the crisis by appealing for increased understanding and support from the West. Most have engaged in negotiations with the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, the sine qua non of renewed lending. In addition, concentration among African nations in bodies such as the Organization of African Unity, the ADB and ECOWAS has led to a number of policy approaches whose direction differs little, whether or not a country's economy is under the "tutelage" of the IMF, as most ECOWAS states are.

The common theme throughout the region has been austerity. Governments have been obliged to cut back their spending, slow down or freeze new hiring, block salaries and reduce subsidies on consumer goods.

In Nigeria, whose military government has decided to "go it alone" without IMF funds, austerity has meant an acute reduction in government investments, with only those projects judged most likely to earn foreign exchange being approved for financing. Nigeria has also restricted delivery of foreign-exchange permits, thus forcing a reduction of imports. This affects



Note: Does not include Cape Verde Islands. Total debt includes short and long term debt per capita for 1983, and IMF loans at end 1984. Debt per capita is total divided by 1982 population. Source: IMF, World Bank, Bank for International Settlements, South magazine.

traders and industries alike and encourages unemployable urban dwellers to return to the land. Ivory Coast, which has been described as one of the IMF's better

"pupils," has introduced a gamut of austerity measures as wide as any of the region. The Ivorian debt-service burden has increased fifteenfold during the past 10 years,

largely as a result of heavy commercial borrowing in the 1970s and this decade's rise in interest rates (Continued on Page 14)

Summit Compromises On Nigerian Expulsions

By Howard French

LOME — The summit marking the 10th anniversary of the creation of the Economic Community of West African States ended on July 6 with a series of compromises aimed at encouraging member states to strengthen their commitment to the organization.

In preparatory meetings, ministerial delegations from the 16 ECOWAS members were unable to reach an agreement over the most politically sensitive issue facing the community: the free movement of goods and peoples throughout the region.

Over the past two years, Nigeria, the state most intimately involved in the creation of ECOWAS, had, in the words of a delegate from Benin, "violated the spirit of the free-movement protocol with impunity" by repeatedly expelling large numbers of "illegal aliens."

The protocol on the movement of people and goods provided for the free circulation of citizens from ECOWAS countries throughout the 16-nation community and the waiving of visa requirements for the first 90 days of presence in a given country.

With the economies of Ghana, Niger, Benin and Togo seriously affected by Nigeria's expulsions, and its continued border closure, a broad coalition of ECOWAS members decided to challenge the Lagos government over the issue.

The debate over the free-movement protocol coin-

cided with the scheduled implementation of its second phase, which provides for the unrestricted residence for ECOWAS citizens throughout the region. In ministerial sessions, debate froze on the second phase. Supported only by Liberia, Nigeria argued that the first phase of the protocol had not yet been implemented and that, therefore, it would be premature to move on to the second phase. The other members realized that any new protocols that might be subsequently ignored would ultimately damage the community's credibility.

With the heads of states gathered in Lome, a compromise solution was worked out whereby the implementation of the second phase would be put off until 1986, when its application would become mandatory. Nigeria's head of state, Major General Muhammadu Buhari, who was elected president of the organization for the coming year, promised that Nigeria would cease to consider victims of the region's natural disasters, that is, drought and famine, as illegal aliens.

The heads of state also decided to set a timetable for payment of arrears owed by members to the community. ECOWAS officials said that some states had not paid their budget contributions in five years and that only two states had paid regularly since the creation of ECOWAS.

Finally, ECOWAS mandated Momodu Muna, its executive secretary, to maintain contact with the heads of state to ensure the application of community decisions.

Age and Succession: A Critical Issue

By Mark Doyle

LONDON — Old age is a crucial political issue in West Africa, as crucial as it has been in the Soviet Union and might become in the United States.

In two countries, Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast, the question of age and succession has reached a critical phase. In both countries, the president is due to reach 80 years (officially) this fall, and in neither has a clear successor emerged.

Uncertainty has led to a sort of political limbo, where every presidential heartbeat is measured and every hint of retirement or favorites for the top posi-

tion is eagerly analyzed by candidates and observers alike. Meanwhile, long-term economic planning in an already strained financial climate is impossible.

Siaka Stevens has ruled Sierra Leone, a former British colony, for 17 years. In 1978, he introduced a one-party constitution on the grounds that a multiparty system caused acrimony and division. However, the now-ruling All People's Congress (APC) has itself caused tension by its top-heavy, unconsultative tendencies and its policy of selection-before-election of all parliamentary candidates.

At the top of the state-party structure, Mr. Stevens (Continued on Next Page)

Are Africa's 'False Starts' In Development Continuing?

By Brigid Phillips

PONTENAY-SOUS-BOIS, France — Two decades ago, Prof. René Dumont, a self-described humanist-socialist, gave such a grim view of developing Africa that he was declared "persona non grata" across the continent. Now, African leaders summon him to conduct in-depth analyses of their economies. But Prof. Dumont's predictions for developing Africa are just as gloomy today as they were 20 years ago.

Prof. Dumont, who taught at the Institut National Agronomique in Paris for nearly 40 years, alerted the world to the errors Africa was making in its shaky course to development in his 1962 book, "False Start for Africa." He criticized agricultural policies that ruined the land, economic blueprints that focused on prestigious industries

rather than farming and social programs aimed at reproducing Paris and New York in remote African capitals.

Prof. Dumont peppered his critique with horror stories: peanut crops that destroyed the soil in Senegal, mushrooming bureaucracies that accounted for 78 percent of the budget in Brazzaville, banning of small cars in the dust-and-lime town of Ouagadougou because they were not elegant enough for the streets of a capital city.

The professor, an agronomist who has evolved into a sociologist, said many of Africa's modern leaders now see the folly of the post-independence planning. But the follies still exist.

For his most recent study, Prof. Dumont was invited by President Thomas Sankara to examine the progress of Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta) under the Marxist



Demographic explosion: Population continues to grow faster than agricultural production.

regime that has been in power since 1983. Prof. Dumont's assessment is clear in the title of the report he submitted — "Not the Road to Development but the Road to Destruction."

It is a case study of much of what is wrong with West Africa. Prof. Dumont highlighted the historical problems that hamper progress.

Traditionally, he argues, the price of grain in Africa has been too low to encourage farmers to produce a surplus that would buffer them in lean years. They are encouraged to produce cash crops that bring in export revenues but do little to help a country in famine. And farmers' earnings are never high enough to allow investment in soil improve-

ment, reforestation or any of the other practices that would improve agriculture.

But the situation is unlikely to change, said Prof. Dumont, because "the people who benefit from this situation are the city people that benefit from cheap food and foreign currency under the existing (Continued on Next Page)

A Continent Loses Ability To Feed Growing Population

The following article has been excerpted from "Reversing Africa's Decline," a Worldwatch Paper by Lester R. Brown and Edward C. Wolf. The report, published in June by the Worldwatch Institute, an independent research organization, was presented to the World Commission on Environment and Development June 24-27 in Oslo.

WASHINGTON — Africa, although essentially agrarian, is losing the ability to feed itself. In 1984, 140 million of its 531 million people were fed entirely with grain from abroad and this will almost certainly increase in 1985.

A mid-February assessment of Africa's food situation by the United Nations reported that about 10 million people had left their villages in search of food, many of them crowded into hastily erected relief camps. In late April, the UN Economic Commission for Africa

reported that starvation deaths had passed the one million mark.

In Africa, as elsewhere in the Third World, cereals supply two-thirds to four-fifths of caloric intake, making per capita grain production a basic indicator of both economic productivity and individual welfare. During the two decades following World War II, grain production per person in Africa either remained steady or increased slightly, peaking in 1967 at 180 kilograms (396 pounds). This level, roughly one pound of grain per day, is widely viewed as the subsistence threshold, below which malnutrition begins to erode human development and labor productivity.

Since 1967, per capita grain production has been declining. In 1983 and 1984, years in which low rainfall depressed the harvest, per capi- (Continued on Page 13)

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Desertification Trends In Selected African Countries, 1977-1984

Country	Sand Dune Encroachment	Deterioration in Rangelands	Forest Depletion	Deterioration of Irrigation Systems	Rainfed Agriculture Problems
Burkina Faso	0	+	+	+	++
Cameroon	0	0	+	0	+
Guinea	0	0	+	+	++
Mali	+	++	++	+	+
Mauritania	+	++	++	+	+
Niger	+	++	++	++	+
Nigeria	0	+	++	0	+
Senegal	+	++	+	+	++

Formerly Upper Volta.

Key: 0 = stable, + = some increase, ++ = significant increase.

Adapted from Leonard Berry, "Desertification: Problems of Restoring Productivity in Dry Areas of Africa," presented to the 1985 Annual Meeting Symposium, African Development Bank, Brazzaville, People's Republic of the Congo, May 8, 1985.

Are 'False Starts' in Development Continuing?

(Continued From Previous Page)

system. Even Captain Sankara, who is open to ideas and prepared to change this, says he is caught in the dilemma that to improve farming it would be at the expense of the cities. And the government is run by city people.

"The drama of Africa today is the exploitation of the country people by city people to get cheap food and sustain city life-styles."

The problem is aggravated by birth rates across Africa that average 3 percent. "This demographic explosion further erodes the land. The population continues to grow faster than agricultural production, increased malnutrition and the food deficit. This, naturally, compromises the country's economic and political independence."

A frequent response by young African leaders is to turn to communist theory and implement such systems as collective farming, "a complete failure," in Prof. Dumont's estimation. He cites experience with state farms in Ghana, Guinea, Tanzania and Cuba. "State farms contributed to the famine that Mozambique is currently suffering and in large measure helped ruin the economy of Nicaragua's Ghana," he said.

Prof. Dumont praises the efforts of young leaders such as Captain Sankara who have tried to reverse the post-colonial system with new ideas.

But the new methods have often failed to produce better results than the old ones. Captain Sankara established a system of Regional Development Organizations

(ORD) to give a revolutionary new order designed to improve agriculture.

"We must offer a very harsh judgment of the ORDs, which do little work and are generally inefficient," Prof. Dumont said in his report. "The country people told us the ORDs are cadavers that are not quite dead."

Much of the problem in drought-swept western Africa, Prof. Dumont argues, is still aid that does little to aid. "Sankara says aid should be used to kill off aid," said the professor in an interview in his office in suburban Paris. "And he is absolutely right."

But today's aid often aggravates existing problems. For example, it tends to keep the price of grain artificially low and discourages rural development and better farming practices. And many aid projects, Prof. Dumont said, are still insensitive to local needs. France sends seed for "salad gardens" to hungry West African countries. "Have you ever been starving and been offered a salad?"

Or what Prof. Dumont considers the "most aberrant aid project I have ever seen, and I have seen a few in my time": the construction of two major dams on the Senegal River in a joint project by Senegal, Mauritania and Mali. At a cost of \$800 million, one dam will be completed next year and the other by 1988. The project will produce "more electricity than could ever conceivably be used by the region."

But the governments are only starting to realize that the real burden of cost is not construction but maintenance. Prof. Dumont said

that in his discussions with African leaders, he learned that the irrigation projects the dams were supposed to make possible may be canceled due to lack of funds.

"It is appalling," he said. "And so unprofitable that many donor countries and the World Bank refused to have any involvement with it."

And even apart from the aid "catastrophes," there are still plenty of self-aggrandizing projects that bleed resources with few benefits for the population.

Ivory Coast, where "the economic miracle is over," is building the new capital of Yamoussoukro to replace the coastal capital of Abidjan, which itself was a replacement capital. "There are more light standards in Yamoussoukro, with a population of 40,000, than in Abidjan, where the population is 800,000," Prof. Dumont said. But he was equally critical of Abidjan's modern complexes, which include such frivolities as a skating rink, but tower over the slums of Treichville, where people beg for food.

Prof. Dumont, who has studied developing countries from Asia to Africa and the Caribbean since 1929, has some basic prescriptions for West Africa. He calls for higher grain prices that would take farming beyond subsistence levels and break down the "catastrophic" chasm between city and country people.

Education, which has always been based on the colonial system, which was geared to churning out bureaucrats, should be dramatically changed and adapted to local populations. He claims that an illiterate person can be taught basic arithmetic and to write his own language in eight weeks. Instead, a privileged few are guided through a school system that takes 15 years and then the graduates are often unemployed because governments cannot afford to keep expanding their bureaucracies.

African governments must give much closer attention to developing agriculture and improving farming techniques to curtail soil erosion and desertification, he said. And one of the most pressing problems for Africa, the population explosion, must be recognized and acted upon. "Food production will never be able to sustain a population growing at 3 percent," he said.

Prof. Dumont retired in 1974 but is still studying and producing books on the Third World in his quest to steer them onto more positive courses for the future. After being invited to do studies of Senegal and Burkina Faso, and conducting his own research in several adjacent West African countries, he is planning another book, due to be published in the autumn.

It will be one more of Prof. Dumont's efforts to get his message of the urgent need for change across to a popular audience, with the title, "Afrique Affamée, Le Désert Gagne" (Starving Africa, The Desert is Winning).

After 50 years of study, Prof. Dumont still capitalizes on his expertise and good humor to persuade Africa's leaders to listen. "The good thing is that they are listening now. But they still aren't doing anything," he said.

A SPECIAL REPORT ON WEST AFRICA

Guinean Upheaval: Ethnic Divisions, Economic Decline

LOME—Africa's regional summit meetings have often provided the occasion to depose an absent head of state, and this month's gathering of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was another such opportunity, with President Lansana Conté of Guinea the intended victim.

On July 4, eve of the opening of the summit, news of a coup d'état in Guinea reached the Togolese capital, Lomé, site of the meeting. By that afternoon, 12 of the community's 16 heads of state had arrived in Lomé and speculation was rife as to the reasons behind the absence of those who had failed to show up.

At the center of the speculation was Colonel Conté. Togolese officials had privately confided that there was "trouble" in the Guinean capital of Conakry. Colonel Conté finally arrived that evening, apparently persuaded to attend by President Gnassingbe Eyadéma of Togo, so that, as acting president of ECOWAS, he could open the summit meetings the next day.

In Colonel Conté's words, "Before I had a chance to sit down at Lomé, I had word there had been a coup d'état led by Colonel Diara Traoré," Guinea's former prime minister. Having seized the national radio station, Colonel Traoré announced the "ouster" of the president.

Early the next morning, with thousands of Togolese dancers, majorettes and musicians massed on the Place de l'Indépendance to provide entertainment for the summit's opening session, international radio broadcasts announced that

the Guinean coup bid had been reversed.

Colonel Traoré's short-lived bid for power was based on two issues that are at the center of the region's instability: economic stagnation and ethnic division.

Like so many of the ECOWAS countries, Guinea's economy has flourished badly in recent years. What distinguished the Guinean situation is that 15 months ago the country had rid itself of one of the continent's most tightly controlled and repressive dictatorships, that of the deceased President Sékou Touré.

When Guinea's present leadership, known as the Military Committee for National Recovery (CMRN), filled the vacuum left by President Touré's death and declared itself in favor of free expression and liberal economic policies, the expectations of the nation were immediately kindled.

President Touré had led the country for 25 years, following a path described by a former Guinean diplomat as "anachronistic socialism." His extreme centralization of power had left the country with an almost total lack of economic development, despite the fact that Guinea ranks among the African countries most highly endowed with natural resources.

In his message to the nation following the seizure of the radio station, Colonel Traoré condemned the CMRN government for its "15 months of free-dragging and indecision" and denounced the Conté leadership for its "ethnically based partisan infighting."

Without a hint of a program of his own, Colonel Traoré's state-



On the street in Freetown, Sierra Leone.

ment alleged the "total deception" of popular expectations following the CMRN's seizure of power. Observers in Conakry noted that if it was true that material conditions in the country had not improved under military rule, Colonel Traoré's ethnic appeal totally backfired.

President Conté described Colonel Traoré's radio message as the latest in a recent series of maneuvers intended to "convince the Malinke tribe that they were being victimized" for President Touré's long reign. The Malinke tribe is the country's largest, accounting for 30 percent of the population.

The apparent solidarity of top Malinke officials in support of the Traoré coup attempt has already had grave consequences for the country. While the Guinean Army hesitated in taking sides following the coup announcement, the population of Conakry rapidly responded by gathering in the streets to denounce the self-declared "Su-

preme State Council." Fearing a return to the Malinke hegemony of the Touré years, the capital's predominantly Soussou population rioted throughout the night of July 4, looting and pillaging Malinke homes and shops.

With the realization that the people of Conakry firmly opposed the coup plotters, the Guinean Army mobilized in support of the absent president. The government has acknowledged 19 deaths and 229 wounded in the ensuing violence.

Whether Guinea can escape the infernal cycle of coups and instability now depends more than anything on improvement in the country's economy. The ethnic problem could be handled by a judicious balancing of the four major ethnic groups in the government. However, failure to improve living conditions is likely to lead to renewed violence.

—HOWARD FRENCH

Despite the Turmoil, World Investors Consider Guinea 'Country of Future'

By Richard Sygne

LONDON—Foreign investors who have examined West African opportunities closely are largely in agreement that the region's "country of the future" is the Republic of Guinea, the nation that made headlines on July 5, when a former prime minister tried to oust President Lansana Conté from power.

Although the coup attempt failed, the incident showed that Guinea is likely to remain a somewhat elusive prize for the time being. However, many people remain convinced that Guinea will turn out right in the end.

After 26 years of virtual isolation from the world under Sékou Touré, who died in March 1984 and was succeeded by a military regime determined to reverse most of his policies, Guinea has now been invaded by bankers and entrepreneurs intent on finding the projects most likely to yield good returns.

The world's biggest concentration of bauxite deposits, substantial high-quality iron ore and other minerals, including diamonds, gold and uranium, lie beneath Guinea's soil. At present, only bauxite mining makes any significant contribution to the national economy, but negotiations are under way on the extraction of other minerals.

After the military coup in April 1984, which brought Colonel Conté to power, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund entertained hopes of quickly reaching agreement with the new government on a recovery program. With IMF involvement, progress on such an agreement was dependent on a devaluation of the currency, restructuring of the government bud-

get and promotion of the private sector. To date, the government has balked at taking sweeping measures that could provoke political instability and there has been little progress.

Now that the international institutions have looked more closely at Guinea's specific problems, they have come to terms with a need for a measured approach. Restructuring the state sector, which held a dominant position under Sékou Touré, and training a new breed of administrators to handle the concerns of the private sector will take some time. Moreover, the absence of a functioning banking system for local agricultural produce requires the establishment of completely new structures.

The investors now see a long haul ahead but the World Bank is already involved in discussions with the government on project selection and it expects to be able to back a major effort to promote Guinea's potential in about a year.

At present, much of Guinea's 5 million people are engaged in agricultural production on a small scale, but to keep them active will require major investments in roads and basic amenities.

Once local and foreign confidence in Guinea's economic policies is restored, the revival of the country to its former status as the "jewel of West Africa" should be rapid. Guinea is still receiving more of a sympathetic hearing in the West than most of its fellow members in ECOWAS.

There are, however, some other states in the region where a positive drive to attract private foreign capital is well advanced. The Cape Verde Islands, remote but still a

part of ECOWAS, is making a strong push to attract funds from the United States and particularly from Cape Verdean émigrés, who now outnumber the islands' inhabitants by two to one (600,000 compared with 300,000).

Already, Cape Verdeans abroad are a major source of income for these drought-stricken islands, sending home at least \$30 million per year, enough to stave off an otherwise desperate balance-of-payments crisis.

Although the islands could eventually attract considerable investment in tourism, the prevailing difficulties of finding and storing water for drinking and irrigation must be overcome. The government also wants to promote a stronger local economy before opening the floodgates to foreign investors.

Cape Verde Islands has great potential as a fishing center and this is where the government is hoping to persuade the émigrés to put their money. There is also scope for a large number of small industries. In recent months, investment agreements have been signed for a cement factory and a brewery, and the World Bank is sponsoring the evaluation of financing of other enterprises.

Another candidate for foreign investment in West Africa is Togo, a focal point in the ECOWAS system and a country that has enthusiastically embraced IMF and World Bank conditions and policies. Togo also has a vocation as an entrepôt for the bigger regional economies of Ghana and Nigeria, although its population is only 3 million.

Togo's government is now trying to sell off its moribund state industries, set up in the 1970s on the basis of a miscalculation of the earning potential of phosphates, the country's main export. Most of the industries failed through bad planning and bad management and the government is now offering the facilities to any entrepreneur who can guarantee their profitable operation. The terms being offered are generous and have already attracted considerable interest from abroad.

Togo's oil refinery is now being leased by oil companies as a storage center and its steelworks is being operated by John Moore, an American businessman, who has adapted existing facilities to a small-scale but highly profitable rolling operation.

Other state firms set for privatization are in textiles, marble mining, detergents, oil seeds, milk products and plastics.

Togo, as a small country with considerable variety and good communications with the rest of the region, also has potential as a tourism center. Here, however, its fortunes will rest on whether it can agree to welcome cheap charter tours that would help make it competitive with the other tourism centers of the region, Gambia and Senegal.

Other countries of West Africa will be watching closely the outcome of Togo's privatization program. If it works out as planned, with both government and investors getting the financial rewards they expect, the program is expected to have imitators throughout the region.

Aging Leaders and Succession: A Critical Issue

(Continued From Previous Page)

has wielded almost complete control, making even day-to-day government decisions in his private office.

The 1978 constitution of Sierra Leone names the first vice president, currently Ibrahim Sorrie Koroma, as successor on the death or incapacity of the president. However, there are doubts as to whether Mr. Koroma, 56, has the popularity or physical strength to rule. Neither does Mr. Koroma have Mr. Stevens's support.

In June of this year, Mr. Stevens's latest seven-year term of office ran out. Since he had not decided on a successor, however, the president asked for and, of course, received a six-month extension until December.

This limbo period has seen a sharpening of political knives and yet more uncertainty. Other candidates, such as the recently appointed second vice president, Francis Minneh, have joined the fray.

But civilian politicking may prove to be just theoretical, as popular discontent at the parlous state of the economy is exacerbated by a lack of clear leadership.

Major General Joseph Momoh, chief of staff of the armed forces, is now seriously considered as a leader who could bring order and purge the country of widely alleged corruption. As with the civilians, however, General Momoh is seen as an integral part of a discredited regime. Being an ex-officio minister of Parliament and APC member,

he also has no popular base (neither do most of the MPs, being imposed from the top) and he may be mistrusted by radical younger army officers.

Sierra Leonean politicians watched closely events in neighboring Guinea, where last year the dictator, Sékou Touré, died. Within days, the highly centralized regime he had built up collapsed as senior army officers took control.

A peaceful succession was not possible in Guinea because the institutional structures proved fragile. On their demise, confusion reigned and the only viable structure left was the army.

Politicians in Ivory Coast have similar problems. Ruled as a one-party state since independence by Félix Houphouët-Boigny, Ivory Coast has been favored by Western investors because of the generous incentives it offers to foreign capital. However, poor world prices for its exports and a lack of genuine indigenous development have led to an economic crisis.

This crisis has been deepened by uncertainty over Mr. Houphouët-Boigny's intentions. Constitutionally, until 1980, the successor of the president was the president of the National Assembly. However, in 1980, the incumbent of this post, Philippe Yacé, was sacked and the constitution changed. Speculation and competition followed.

Candidates include the current president of the National Assembly, Henri Konan-Bédié. A former World Bank employee and ambas-

sador to the United States, Mr. Konan-Bédié comes from the same part of the country as Mr. Houphouët-Boigny. Mayor Emmanuel Dioulo of Abidjan, the economic capital, was a strong candidate until last year, when he became embroiled in a financial scandal. However, Mr. Dioulo still has powerful connections, including Mr. Houphouët-Boigny's family. The current minister of defense, Jean Konan-Banny, is another possible candidate.

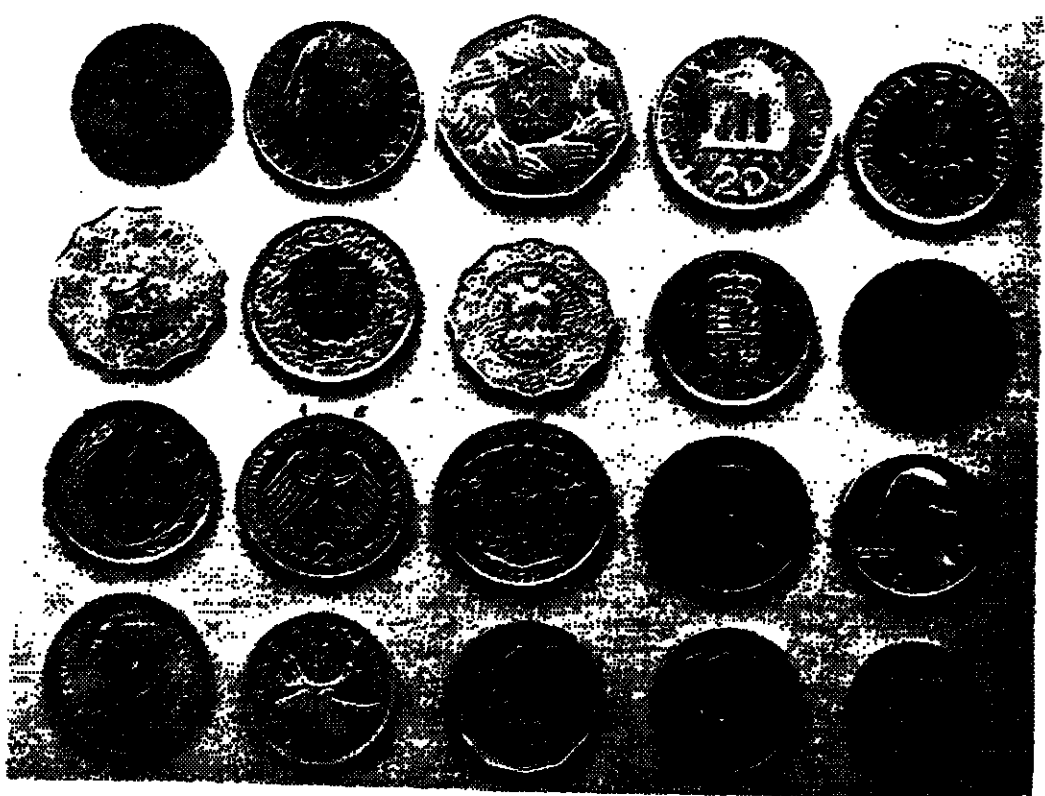
A convention of the ruling party, the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast (PDCI) is due later this year, when, in theory, delegates will choose a presidential candidate for the single-candidate elections. However, since the PDCI "choice" is almost bound to be Mr. Houphouët-Boigny, interest will center on whom he chooses as his vice presidential running mate. This is the man who will rule Ivory Coast when Le Vieux (the old man), as he is known, dies.

However, the PDCI faces the same problem as the APC in Sierra Leone and many other single-party regimes. Unlike certain left-leaning regimes such as Ghana or Burkina Fasso, there is little attempt at mass participation: When the boss goes, the party therefore crumbles. Also, Ivory Coast is now bordered by military regimes of various political hues, which may have inspired unconstitutional ideas in the officers' villas and barracks alike.

In no West African country has the physical stamina of the old leaders is another factor. Unable to keep up with state affairs, they become increasingly influenced by "special advisers." Mr. Houphouët-Boigny, for example, has a powerful "kitchen cabinet" of foreigners, French, Malian or Algerian, who are close enough to the president to have more influence than traditionally powerful ministers.

For these men and women, the ultimate power of the president is their lifetime. It is in their interest to shield him from criticism and encourage him to remain in power. Broader interests, let alone those of the majority of the people, can come a very poor second.

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We set the pace...

Interest in Oil Potential Grows, but Not as Economic Panacea

By Howard Schissel

PARIS — None of the western members of the Economic Community of West African States may have the immense hydrocarbon potential of Nigeria, but all are making considerable efforts to cover their own domestic oil consumption needs and even produce a surplus for export.

Taking heed of the difficulties being experienced by Nigeria and other African producers, West African states no longer view oil as a panacea for their economic ills. Instead, economic planners consider possible hydrocarbon resources as a means of reducing the burden of foreign debt as well as providing a fillip for a more balanced approach to development.

West Africa, with the exception of Nigeria, has received much less attention from Western oil companies than Central Africa, where Angola, Congo, Gabon and Cameroon are well-established oil producers. Despite slack oil prices during the last few years, interest in West Africa's oil potential has been growing. A number of states in the region have revised their petroleum codes to make the investment climate more attractive to foreign firms.

"Since the late 1960s, several oil and gas discoveries have been made in West Africa," but in view of the relatively low drilling density, further discoveries are nearly certain, Michel Dumestre, a specialist on West African geology, told the Oil and Gas Journal in May. He added that, due to the area's complex geology, it will be necessary for oil companies to carry out "careful and detailed analysis of the structure and reservoir distribution

[which] can lead to the discovery of new reserves in the vicinity of known accumulations."

A case in point is Benin's Seme field, located in relatively shallow water not far from the country's maritime frontier with Nigeria. Abandoned by an American company in the early 1970s as uneconomical, subsequent reanalysis of reserves showed the field had a sizeable accumulation of at least 10 million barrels.

The field was brought into production in the early 1980s by Norway's Saga Petroleum under a service contract. Output has now reached some 9,000 barrels a day, providing Benin with the opportunity to improve its trade balance and cover local needs. A second-phase development plan is under way that should boost production capacity to around 15,000 barrels a day by 1986. Benin is also offering new acreage for exploration under production-sharing terms.

The initial success chalked up by Union Carbide in the early 1970s on Togo's continental plateau have yet to be confirmed. Earlier this year, Tesaco's Getty Oil affiliate stopped dry its Mono 1 wildcat. Results are being evaluated before future exploration plans are announced.

Ghana has once again opened up its offshore area for exploration after a series of noncommercial finds and chronic political instability discouraged a host of Western groups. During the late 1970s, firms like Italy's Agip, Phillips Petroleum, Texas Pacific and Getty Oil were engaged in exploration in Ghana, but most decided to terminate their operations.

The government of President

Jerry Rawlings revised its oil legislation and had an extensive seismic survey of the continental plateau carried out in coordination with the reinterpretation of past drilling results. Hydrocarbon potential in Ghana's maritime territory is said to be attractive. Political considerations, however, appear to have re-

Planners consider hydrocarbon resources as a means of reducing foreign debt.

duced the country's appeal. Only a few companies bid for offshore acreage, which is expected to be granted later this summer.

Late last year, Primary Fuel Co. of Houston took over operations from the Tulsa-based Agri-Petco on Ghana's sole producing field off the town of Salapood. Output has slowed to a trickle. Primary Fuel is supposed to invest around \$60 million to raise production to a planned 8,000 barrels a day. Petro-Canada International, the overseas arm of the Canadian national company, drilled two promising wells last year in the Tano basin, previously relinquished by Phillips.

After being touted as a "second Nigeria," the Ivory Coast has revised downward its hydrocarbon potential to more modest proportions. Optimism that Phillips' offshore Espoir field would turn into an oil bonanza was short-lived as technical difficulties, coupled with the high cost of operating in relatively deep waters, dampened initial hopes. Moreover, recent drilling has shown that the Ivory Coast's continental plateau may possess more gas reserves than liquid hydrocarbons.

Output from the Espoir field and

Esso's small Bélier field reached 24,000 barrels a day in mid-1983. This practically covers consumption requirements. Phillips reportedly has plans to bring into production the B1 field, discovered in 1982. This could raise Ivorian output to around 35,000 barrels a day in 1987.

Exploration drilling on the far western portion of the continental plateau has yet to bear fruit. It was announced earlier in the year that an American independent, Albion Resources, had taken an option on offshore blocks for PE2 and PE3, previously abandoned by Esso.

The Chicago-based Amoco Corp. picked up six offshore permits after the Liberian government reopened its continental shelf for hydrocarbon exploration in 1982. After a seismic program, Amoco drilled three wildcats, none of which turned up commercial hydrocarbon reserves. Amoco is to start a fourth wildcat before the end of the year. Onshore, the U.S. independent, Henry Resources Corp., acquired a block covering the Bassa and Roberts basins. The firm must drill at least two wildcats over the next three years.

Amoco took over the operatorship last year of a block offshore Sierra Leone from two American concerns, Aracra Petroleum and Onoco International, which remain active in the area. Following a seismic survey, Amoco is to initiate its drilling campaign during the second half of the year.

Prospects for increased prospec-

tion in the offshore zone of Guinea and Guinea-Bissau were improved last spring, when the International Court of Justice in The Hague handed down an advisory judgment on the continental plateau dispute opposing these two states. The problem involved interpretation of a treaty between France and Portugal dating from the colonial era.

The court's ruling accorded the area off the town of Boe to Guinea, thus opening the way to rapid resumption of exploration activities by the Société Guinéenne des Hydrocarbures, a joint venture between the Guinean government and two U.S. companies, Superior Oil and Union Texas Petroleum.

Guinea-Bissau, however, must still find a solution to the maritime border dispute with Senegal. Again, this imbroglio involves differing interpretations of colonial treaties. The two governments decided last spring to set up an independent panel in Geneva to arbitrate the problem. It is expected that the arbitration process will be completed by mid-1986.

Only France's state-controlled Elf Aquitaine group is currently active in Guinea-Bissau. It drilled a dry wildcat last year.

In Senegal, two Canadian firms, Husky Oil and Oculor Oil, possess offshore permits near the capital of Dakar. The government is revising its petroleum code and plans to offer new acreage to interested firms next year. A large deposit of heavy oil, Dôme Flore, was discovered off the southernmost Casamance province in the early 1970s, but it is not considered economically viable under present conditions.

Mauritania's oil hopes received a temporary setback last year, when

Mobil Oil's Coppolani wildcat was dry. This led the New York company to abandon its two offshore blocks in the vicinity of Nouakchott. Another large U.S. oil firm is reported to be on the verge of an agreement with the Mauritanian government for the acreage relinquished by Mobil.

Oxoco International is exploring offshore Block 9, covering an area along the Senegalese border. Atlantic Richfield is studying the results of its seismic survey on offshore Block 8 before announcing a drilling campaign.

Mauritanian officials were closely following the results of drilling at the beginning of the year in the Malian portion of the promising Taoudeni basin. Gas was struck on the Mauritanian side of the border in the early 1970s, but production operations were not judged profitable at the time. Exxon's Atonifa 1 well was stopped dry. Drilling results are to be analyzed before Exxon reveals its plans. Previously, Elf drilled a couple of dry wells at Ansongui, near the frontier with Niger, and at Yamba, some 300 kilometers (186 miles) from Timbuktu.

High expectations raised by preliminary drilling results on the Senegalese side of the Taoudeni basin, near the frontier with Niger, and at Yamba, some 300 kilometers (186 miles) from Timbuktu, are likely to be disappointed in coming years on the promising Niger portion of the Chad basin.

Regional Fund Is Polishing Financial Image

LONDON — Often hindered in its work by the political and economic problems inherent in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the organization's Fund for Cooperation, Compensation and Development is concentrating on improving its efficiency as a financial institution.

The best way to overcome the community's problems, says the fund's new director, Mahanta Fall, is by careful preparation of programs and projects and "a vigorous policy of cooperation with all scientific, technical and financial institutions."

An important development now under way is the establishment of a computer center to help with the fund's intended role as a compensation bank in intraregional trade. The \$3.8-million computer system would also process data for national projects. The first part of the system has already been installed in Bamako, Mali.

The fund's management feels that its image will be much improved when it has moved into its planned two-story headquarters building in Lomé, Togo. But the institution has already earned the respect of international bankers and multilateral agencies without moving from its rudimentary two-story block in the center of Lomé.

The fund has a demanding task ahead: to finance community development, to promote projects on behalf of its least-developed member states, to support trade liberalization within the community, to provide compensation for intraregional trade and to guarantee foreign investments.

"As an institution, we have taken some time to develop," says Mr. Fall, who has been with the fund for six of its seven years, "but it has kept on track despite the political problems. The prudence of the ECOWAS heads of state is the greatest guarantee of our success and we always have a good attendance at ECOWAS summits."

Mr. Fall has long experience of administration in the economic sector in his own country, Senegal, where he helped draw up development plans in the 1960s and was economic adviser to the prime minister in the 1970s.

With a paid-up capital of \$44 million, the fund has earned enough from its investments to finance the operational budget. It has also been able to pay for its own resources, notably the \$12.5-million first phase of the commu-

ty's Intecom 1 telecommunications project. The fund's own resources will also go toward the new \$10-million headquarters building.

Most importantly, the fund has been successful in attracting finance from significant aid sources, including \$8 million from the European Investment Bank and smaller amounts from United Nations and European Community bodies.

Apart from the funding of communications links, Mr. Fall also sees a role for his institution in promoting agricultural development.

"I feel ECOWAS should do everything it can to be self-sufficient in food by the year 2000," Mr. Fall says. "By November, we are planning... to submit to our board of directors an outline of a program for the implementation of these objectives. The resources for this are not likely to be big, as agriculture is not appreciated by the financial institutions, but we are planning to take a lead so that our partners can come in later."

Although ECOWAS has only technicians, we have decided to try to reach the farmer, go to the grassroots level and get the farmers to know what ECOWAS can do for them. We want to build dams, dikes and access roads to open up the interior so that farmers can increase their production."

Industry is another of Mr. Fall's personal priorities although he is aware of the problems posed by the contrasting political attitudes toward investment within the region. He believes that ECOWAS "should not discourage foreign investment, and, on the contrary, should encourage it, with national participation."

Expressing the need for caution in the growth of ECOWAS as a whole, Mr. Fall says: "Any change we make can give rise to new problems and so we have to be careful of every step we take." He cites the overlapping roles of ECOWAS and the Francophone Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CEAO).

"Most-favored-nation status now applies to members of CEAO, which came into existence before ECOWAS, and if we applied this within ECOWAS, some countries would have to reduce 30-percent tariffs to zero tariffs with no preparation. Some countries in this region live entirely on customs revenues and it would not be acceptable to them to apply free trade indiscriminately."

— RICHARD SYNGE



GHANA'S ROAD TO SELF-DISCOVERY



The confidence that Ghana has won in the past year in international circles could not have been accidental. Dealing with an economy that was not only in decline but which had left the people helpless and frustrated needed a great deal of planning, fortitude, political courage, sacrifice and above all, sincerity.

The ruling Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), led by F.L. Jerry John Rawlings, has astonished critics and sceptics by first halting the worful decline in the economy and secondly by mobilising the masses of the people to take their destiny into their own hands.

The PNDC's Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) launched in 1983 sought to reduce the heavy budget deficits, rehabilitate the run-down productive infrastructure and establish the proper priorities for the allocation of scarce foreign exchange resources and above all raise agricultural productivity.

The programme received the support of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, among other international agencies, and various stand-by credit facilities were extended to the country. To mention a few, the IMF in August, 1983, approved a one-year facility of about US\$252 million and about \$126.75 million under the Fund's Compensating Financing Facility (CFF) on account of a shortfall in exports during 1982. In 1984, another stand-by credit for SDR 180 million was approved. Late 1983, the World Bank also chaired a consultative group meeting in Paris to seek further aid for Ghana. Subsequently, various forms of assistance have been received from Canada, France, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Japan, the Netherlands and the World Food Programme. A substantial amount of aid has also been received from the Socialist world, particularly the Soviet Union, China and Bulgaria.

One of the secrets of the PNDC's achievements is the level of discipline injected into public financing and public expenditure. Consequently the gross domestic product (GDP) grew by 7.6% in 1984 as compared with 0.7% in 1983 and even less in previous years. The rate of inflation was also reduced from 123% in 1983 to 40% in 1984, while the budget deficit as a percentage of GDP was reduced to 1.5% as compared to 2.6% in 1983.

In the words of the World Bank Representative: "The declining trend of the past 10 years has been arrested in all key productive sectors," adding that "the confidence of the international community in the economic policies of the Government has been restored mainly due to the fact that the export sector is fast picking up as a result of the Economic Recovery Programme."

It is not only the export sector — mainly mining, timber, cocoa — which is fast picking up. The local manufacturing sector recorded impressive upward trend in production. But perhaps it is in the area of food production that the policies of the PNDC probably paid off remarkably. Backed by an effective mobilization programme and the timely provision of agricultural implements and seeds, the Government recorded surpluses in 1984. Production rose from 172,000 tonnes in 1983 to 432,000 tonnes in 1984. The result was a slump in the market price of maize, compelling the Government to set a guaranteed price for farmers.

The creditable performance of the 1984 budget programme was partly due to the courage and realism with which the PNDC tackled the problem of declining value of the currency, the cedi. Having come from 2.75 cedis to 30 cedis to the US dollar (from 1981 to 1983), another re-adjustment became necessary for the calendar year 1984. The exchange rate steadily moved from 30 cedis to 50 cedis per the US dollar. Although this naturally raised prices of goods and services, the overall effect stimulated exports and maintained competitiveness in the sector. To cushion the effect of the cedi adjustment, the minimum daily wage for workers was raised by 100 per cent, and the producer price of cocoa went up from 20,000 cedis per tonne to 30,000 cedis.

Basically, the policy objectives for 1985 include increasing the momentum of the Economic Recovery Programme, increasing development expenditure, increasing the capital base of selected state enterprises and expanding the role of local authorities in economic management.

According to Dr. Kwesi Botchway, Secretary for Finance and Economic Planning, the targets for 1985 envisage a 5.3 per cent increase in real national income per annum, 16 per cent expansion in the dollar value of exports, a 48 per cent expansion in the dollar value of imports, an annual inflation rate of 20 per cent and a budget deficit level of 2 per cent of GDP.

As a result of a combination of measures including increased allocation of inputs, price incentives and provision for substantially expanded financing, higher targets are expected to be attained in the export sector. Gold exports are projected to increase by 14 per cent, diamonds by 58 per cent, manganese by 19 per cent, bauxite by 122 per cent and timber by 89 per cent. And a target of 201,000 metric tonnes is envisaged for the 1985/86 crop season.

Compared to the 1984 budget proposals, the main features for

1985 include 76 per cent increase in expenditure and revenues, a sharp increase in development expenditure, and the imposition of a 50 per cent fee on all Special Unnumbered Licences. Another new feature is that Ghanaian nationals living abroad can now open convertible currency accounts with authorised foreign exchange dealers in Ghana.

Efforts are being made to restrain the demand for imported luxury items, but at the same time the need to stimulate the key sectors of the economy with imports has not been underestimated. Imports will therefore increase substantially by 48 per cent, the largest chunk being taken by crude oil — \$211 million. The cocoa industry has been allocated \$190 million, transport and communications \$38 million, general agriculture \$85 million and construction \$55 million. Food imports are estimated at \$79 million and imported resources to fuel local industry will cost \$125 million.

This huge import programme will be financed partly (37 per cent) out of Ghana's own resources and partly out of conventional long-term loans.

While a multilateral approach has been adopted to make Ghana self-sufficient in food production in the medium term, the old system of self-reliance in financial management by local bodies is also being restored. This is part of the general policy of the PNDC to inculcate the spirit of self-reliance into the general body-politic.

Naturally, instilling discipline in public enterprise and reducing public expenditure will entail a certain amount of redeployment and redundant labour. In addition to a full-scale policy, the National Mobilization Programme, to resettle underutilized hands in productive areas, the Government has created a fund of 200 million cedis for the retraining and redeployment of under-employed labour.

A catalogue of the PNDC's economic recovery efforts will not be complete without a very vital statement recently made by the Secretary for Finance and Economic Planning, Dr. Kwesi Botchway:

"The Year 1985 is a particularly critical year in our Economic Recovery Programme. Over the past two years, external financing resources from multilateral sources (particularly the IMF) have been crucial source of funding. On present projections, net flows from these sources will be substantially reduced after 1985. Moreover, it has never been our intention to perpetuate a dependence on external assistance for our development for even in the most favourable circumstances, such dependence can never be entirely compatible with our sovereign national interest."

Dr. Botchway added that this year, "special attention will have to be paid to the monitoring of programme implementation, the creation of necessary conditions that will permit a real improvement in management capability, and at the same time enable organised workers to play a more positive and informed role in decision-making at the enterprise level."

In this respect, the Trades Union Congress of Ghana has undertaken a series of education programmes aimed at injecting in the workers a new patriotic spirit. Not a day passes without a seminar, lecture or workshop organised for workers to impress upon them the need to step up productivity.

Further to the call for higher production, which has already begun to yield results, a new body, formed at the coming into power of the PNDC, has been charged with not only upholding the ideals of the revolution but also with monitoring the implementation of the policies of the Government. Called the Committee for the Defence of the Revolution (CDR), these bodies can be found in all workplaces, communities, offices, in villages, towns and cities. Formed out of the people themselves, these committees ensure that the highest level of discipline is maintained at all times. The Government itself has not hesitated to punish CDR members who have misconducted themselves, and from all indications, the success or failure of the economic and political programmes of the PNDC will depend largely on the effectiveness of these committees.

Together with organised labour, CDRs have represented the solid strength of workers in workplaces, especially in relation to managements. Today, workers, represented through the two bodies, have effective presence at meetings of management, now reconstituted as Joint Consultative Committees. As was made clear on May Day 1984, by Capt. Kojo Tokata (Rtd), Member of the PNDC, "The Joint Consultative Committee (JCC) is not meant to be a forum for a contest between the workers and management to show who wields most influence, but a forum for co-operation towards a common aim — increased efficiency and productivity."

All indications are that Ghana is on the road to self-discovery. But this is not being done in isolation. The PNDC has recognised the need all the time to work within the framework of the conditions imposed by its immediate neighbours, by the Economic Community of West African States and by the Organisation of African Unity.

As a first major step, the Government has sought to promote friendship and co-operative relations with all countries and to contribute to a climate of understanding, peace and stability that will enable such relations to flourish.

In pursuance of a policy of constructive co-operation with our neighbours the PNDC has extended adequate efforts to consolidate cordial relations with all countries of the West African sub-region. Bilateral Joint Commissions of Co-operation have been established with neighbouring countries which serve as forums for discussing matters of mutual concern and for enhancing meaningful economic co-operation and collective self-reliance.

Given the arbitrary delineation of borders by former colonial masters, the PNDC has acted to reconstitute or revive, where necessary, the Joint Border Demarcation Commission to enable them to continue to serve as useful instruments for removing irritants from bilateral relations with the country's neighbours.

The importance attached to the establishment of harmonious relations has been underscored by the visits which PNDC Chairman F.L. Rawlings has made to Burkina Faso, the Ivory Coast, Guinea and Benin as well as by exchange of visits by Ministerial delegations of Ghana and her neighbours. Other examples of attempts at co-operation include the quadripartite meeting last December in Lagos, Nigeria between Ghana, Togo, Benin, Nigeria — which took certain initiatives to strengthen stability, security relations and co-operation among themselves. At the end of the meeting important agreements on police co-operation, extradition, customs and trade were signed by the Heads of State.

At the signing of the Agreements, F.L. Rawlings made these significant observations:

"I believe that our responsibility as Heads particularly over peoples who are faced with crises that have reached tragic proportions requires us to go beyond ceremony, and to raise, when we meet each other, issues which will help us serve our people better, to nudge and prod each other to a better rendering of accounts to our people."

He said further:

"These treaties which we have signed today give expression to our common desire to live together in peace, security and harmony and build a meaningful solidarity for the economic, social and cultural development of our countries."

He also said that if we can regularise and promote trade between our countries in the spirit of the ECOWAS Treaty, we can provide revenue for our respective national treasuries.

Since its inception in May 1975, the ECOWAS has enjoyed Ghana's consistent participation in its activities, and Ghana has assisted in the formulation and implementation of various ECOWAS programmes and policies. Ghana has provided a number of experts in the fields of agriculture, customs and tariff harmonization, monetary matters, energy and taxation, who have conducted studies with the Community as a basis for drawing up ECOWAS policies.

It is also known that Ghana has also endeavoured to satisfy all Community requirements, and that instruments of ratification for protocols and conventions which have not as yet been ratified have been or are being prepared. It is interesting to note that the provisions of some of the conventions which are yet to be ratified, for example the conventions on Inter-State Transport of Goods and Road Transport of Goods, are already operative under Ghana's national regulations.

Similarly, a Ghana National Bureau for the Implementation of the ECOWAS Brown Card Protocol has already been established despite the fact that the protocol is only now in the process of being ratified.

Ghana again ratified and has been implementing phase I of the Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence Establishment since 1979. In accordance with the provisions of the Protocol, ECOWAS citizens have the right of entry into Ghana without visa requirement for a period of 90 days provided they are in possession of valid travel documents.

Despite Ghana's present economic circumstances, and to show her sincerity she is currently the third most important financial contributor to the Community, contributing 12.9 per cent of its budgetary requirements. Between 1983 and 1985, Ghana was called upon to contribute UA 2,305,193.02 (approx. US\$2,351,297.49) as budgetary contributions. In addition to the annual contribution, the country has fully paid her quota (US\$6,449,979) towards the capitalization of the ECOWAS Fund as well as her contribution towards the establishment of the special ECOWAS Telecommunications Fund.

Ghana's commitment to collective self-reliance could not be better stated than in the words of F.L. Rawlings in Lagos: "The real challenges lie ahead; not only in the implementation of treaties, but also in the ability to open up ourselves to each other to learn about and from each other, and even to seek each other as a mirror of our own situation. These treaties seek to relate to the realities of the contracting parties as we say in the preamble to one of them. Our realities are not very different from one another. In each of our countries the desperate fight against hunger, poverty, illiteracy and disease is on, and we must begin to create functional organs to enable our combat to be united and hence more effective."

Ghana indeed has taken the first major step.



A fish market at Freetown, Sierra Leone.

Howard French



Gorée, an island off Dakar, Senegal, is a major tourist attraction in West Africa.

Howard French

A SPECIAL REPORT ON WEST AFRICA

Region Pays a Harsh Price for Dependence on Commodities

By Randell E. Moore

WASHINGTON — The sinking price of oil has left Nigeria, the dominant economy of West Africa, in a state of financial crisis.

Nigeria's economic woes, however, are symptomatic of all members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in at least one sense: The lack of regional development has left most ECOWAS members' economies dependent on one or at most a few primary commodities for the bulk of their export revenues.

Primary-commodity exports as a percentage of total exports varies in

West Africa from Senegal's 27 percent to Nigeria's 95 percent, but the median is slightly above the 50 percent mark. Moreover, prices for these commodities have been in decline for almost half a decade.

While reliance on one or two major commodity exports is a familiar situation in the Third World, West Africa's economies exemplify the crushing financial burdens that can accrue during disinflationary periods.

Nigeria's almost sole reliance on oil for its export earnings represents the extreme example among West African nations. It is only to lesser degrees, however, that other

ECOWAS members face the same problem.

According to the World Bank, coffee and cocoa account for approximately 40 percent of the commodity exports of Benin, 46 percent of Ivory Coast, 24 percent of Sierra Leone and 20 percent of Togo. Cocoa alone represents 46 percent of Ghana's commodity exports. Benin and Togo derive another 19 percent and 5 percent, respectively, of their commodity exports from cotton.

In addition to Ghana's almost 50-percent dependence on cocoa exports, Mali relies on cotton for 41 percent of its commodity export

earnings. Peanuts account for 35 percent and 29 percent, respectively, of Gambia's and Guinea-Bissau's exports. Although peanuts themselves represent only about 1 percent of Senegal's commodity exports, that nation derives 12 percent of such earnings from peanut oil.

The only other major agricultural, though nonfood, commodity exported by any West African country is rubber, from which Liberia earns about 16 percent of its export revenues.

ECOWAS exports of nonagricultural commodities are just as plagued by what one International

Monetary Fund economist calls the problem of "too many eggs in one basket."

Chief among the problem nations is Nigeria, which depends on oil for 95 percent of its total commodity exports. Approaching this level of dependence on one commodity are Mauritania and Liberia, where iron ore accounts for 70 percent and 59 percent, respectively, according to World Bank statistics. Guinea relies on bauxite, from which aluminum is processed, for 37 percent of its commodity exports.

Overhauling the 25 percent of Togo's commodity exports that cocoa, coffee and cotton represent is the 44 percent that phosphate rock accounts for.

Given this precarious dependence on primary commodity exports for the economies of West Africa, the disinflationary trend of the past few years has been all the more devastating.

As measured by the World Bank's nonfood commodity index, real commodity prices (adjusted for inflation) last peaked in 1980. The next two years of economic recession produced the steepest and most protracted decline in commodity prices since the 1930s.

In 1983 and the first half of 1984, economic recovery in the United States and to a lesser extent in Western Europe combined with supply-related factors to produce a rebound in the prices of many commodities. In particular, both food and nonfood agricultural prices rose, some sharply.

Since mid-1984, however, primary commodity prices have resumed a downturn. Major contributors to this slide include a substantial slowing in the pace of U.S. economic expansion, only partial recovery among Western European economies, real interest rates that remain high by historical standards, a steep dollar exchange rate and improvement in supply conditions for many agricultural commodities.

For the most part, the prices of commodities exported by ECOWAS members have followed the general price trend of the past five years.

After falling precipitously in 1981-1982, cocoa prices rose nearly 40 percent from late 1982 to August of 1984, most of the increase due to drought in West Africa and Latin American producing nations, as well as political and economic uncertainty in Ghana. Since August of last year, however, cocoa has moved erratically lower, erasing a sizable proportion of its previous 18-month price rise. In addition to more general economic factors, this decline results from cocoa's movement from deficit in the last two years to surplus in 1984-1985.

Compounding the price decline is the failure by International Cocoa Agreement (ICCA) members to reach an accord on a plan for stabilizing prices. Even if ICCA members could come up with a plan, the fact that Ivory Coast (the world's largest producer) and the United States (the world's largest consumer) are not members would undercut the potential for lasting success.

Where the ICCA has largely failed, members of the International Coffee Organization (ICO) have succeeded.

Although slower than cocoa to recover from the 1981-1982 price bashing, coffee prices began to rise in 1983 and there has been little slippage during the last year. This is almost solely attributable to the ICO's quota system, since fundamental coffee-market factors, including weak demand, high stocks



Traditional cloth weaving in Toumodi, Ivory Coast.

Organizational Overlap Slows Regional Unity

LOME — In a report to the ministerial delegations attending the recent summit of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the organization's executive secretary, Momodu Muni, described "the proliferation of intraregional organizations charged with more or less the same aims [as] one of the greatest problems facing our community."

The ECOWAS region of 16 West African states has at least 17 major economic organizations, most of which involve the community's nine Francophone states. A number of participants at the summit in Lome, Togo, pointed out that the existence of seven exclusively Francophone economic bodies of the subregion — there are no exclusively Anglophone organizations — has provoked doubts among the community's Anglophone and Portuguese-speaking members as to the sincerity of their Francophone partners' desire to render ECOWAS more functional.

The division between Anglophone and Francophone states in West Africa has its obvious roots in colonial history. Between them, France and Britain carved up the bulk of the region, leaving behind institutions and habits patterned after their own.

West Africa's Francophone countries owe their cohesiveness to a number of factors, most important of which are continued strong ties to France and their contiguous geographic position. The region's Anglophone countries, on the other hand, have made do with a much lower level of British economic and political presence and are largely scattered throughout the region, separated by Francophone states.

France's attitude toward its former colonies stands in stark contrast to that of Britain. With the notable exception of Guinea, the first Francophone state to attain independence, France maintained, and often strengthened, its links with its newly independent colonies.

Most of these countries signed similar cooperation agreements with the former metropole, which continued to deploy large numbers of "technical assistants" whose role was to train local cadres and assure the smooth functioning of the bureaucratic machinery. Most importantly, France continued to back the common currency used by its former colonies, the CFA franc, whose full name was modified from Colonie Française de l'Afrique to Communauté Financière Africaine. The CFA franc is held at a fixed 50-to-1 parity with its parent French franc and is freely convertible.

The seven-member West African

Monetary Union (UMOA), the governing body of the region's "CFA countries," is, by all accounts, a major obstacle to the creation of a functional ECOWAS monetary union, a primary objective of the community. In contrast, West Africa's English-speaking countries all have nonconvertible national currencies and their complement of flourishing black markets.

The logic behind ECOWAS's goal of a 16-country monetary union, and the eventual creation of a common currency, is undeniable. By international standards, the region is made up of exceptionally small and weak economies. Even Nigeria, ECOWAS's giant, suffers from its economy's almost exclusive reliance on the petroleum sector and it has been unable to forge an international currency, despite its population of nearly 100 million.

ECOWAS's dream of pooling the strengths of its members' economies and forming a common convertible currency remains far away. These economies together would make for a respectable level of diversification, including exports of oil, gold, diamonds, bauxite, cocoa, coffee, uranium, phosphates and rubber.

Besides the host of technical problems impeding the creation of a regional currency, there is the sempiternal Anglophone-Francophone divide. The Francophone states are unwilling to risk sacrificing the perceived advantages of their foreign-backed common currency for the abstract benefits eventually obtained from an ECOWAS currency. An Ivorian delegate at the Lome summit said, "We can't be expected to give up the CFA franc, and the Nigerians would never consider joining UMOA."

The focal point of the Francophone-Anglophone rivalry in West Africa is the region's two economic powers: Nigeria and Ivory Coast. Nigeria commands attention by virtue of its economic weight and population. Its influence is strongly felt in the coastal countries of Benin, Togo and Ghana, and in landlocked Niger. This is evidenced by Nigeria's 1984 border closure and subsequent expulsion of "illegal aliens," which provoked serious economic reversals in these countries.

Proportionally, Ivory Coast, with one-tenth the population and approximately one-eighth the gross domestic product, has comparable economic weight to that of the Nigerian giant. Although landlocked Burkina Faso is the only country

(Continued on Page 14)

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A SPECIAL REPORT ON WEST AFRICA

Tying Up Loose Ends in Communication

LONDON — International executives who have visited a number of West African countries in one trip will know that scheduling of such ventures should not be too tight and that one must always allow for the unexpected incident or cause of delay.

An aircraft with an electrical fault at Sierra Leone's Lungi International Airport might cause the loss of a whole day or night while passengers are ferried back and forth between the airport and Freetown for food and accommodation. Or an unexpected search by Nigeria's security agents before departure from Lagos might mean that a connecting flight in Abidjan would be missed altogether.

Even the executive with a private aircraft can run into the unexpected, as did Francesco Forte, an Italian deputy minister, in June, when his plane hit a sandstorm on the way to Ndjamena, Chad, and had to land unannounced in Maiduguri, northern Nigeria, where he was detained for a day while the local authorities checked his identity.

Mr. Forte's itinerary for his mission to distribute aid for drought relief in the Sahel was badly disrupted.

But if air travel is subject to disruption, on the ground it is even more apparent that much has to be done to overcome the dislocations that are only partly environmental and are mainly a result of the former colonial divisions in West Africa.

Filling in what the colonists left

undone in West Africa seems almost to have become an insuperable problem. Business people complain about the difficulty of telephoning between neighboring countries. Tourists are puzzled by the problem of crossing national borders.

The colonial investments in roads, railroads and telephone systems were made without regard for a future era of intra-African cooperation. Independent governments at first did little better, concerned to maximize their authority within existing national borders.

The business of opening up West African links might have been left solely to smugglers and illegal immigrants were it not for the creation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the consequent vision of a communications complex spanning the region.

ECOWAS is already involved in financing border roads and bridges that form part of the Trans-West African Highway, which will link Nouakchott in Mauritania to Nigeria's borders with Cameroon by two routes, one following the West African coastline to Lagos, where it connects with Nigeria's internal network, and the other crossing the forbidding wastes of the Sahel through Bamako, Ouagadougou and Niamey.

According to Mazariou Dello, director of operations for ECOWAS's Fund for Cooperation, Compensation and Development, the fund has already committed around \$8 million to construction

work on bridges in Benin, Togo and Sierra Leone and for feasibility studies on the Liberian and Malian sections of the Trans-West African Highway system.

At least 25 percent of each of the 5,000-kilometer (3,097-mile) routes is either unimproved or is unimproved, according to ECOWAS estimates. Remaining work on both roads is expected to cost around \$1.5 billion, according to the estimates.

The money for building these links can, in the main, be found in the national budgets supported by Arab and European aid money, but the countries with the poorest road networks are often those with the least resources for development or access to aid. The list includes Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso and Mali. Here, ECOWAS hopes to play a "catalytic" role by funding studies and lobbying for outside funds.

The main thrust of ECOWAS project spending in the last few years has been in telecommunications. By 1986, there will be considerable improvement in telephone and telex contacts among the states of the eastern part of the region. In addition, contracts are on the point of being signed with France's Alcatel-Thomson company for similar links among the western states of Senegal, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau and Guinea, with some provision for relay television programs among these neighbors.

Tying up the very loose ends of West Africa's railroad networks may be the next project. The Orga-



In the parched Sahel: Encroaching desertification is pushing the sub-Saharan region south.

A Continent Loses Ability to Feed Population

(Continued From Page 9)

As grain production was 118 and 120 kilograms respectively, down more than a third from the peak. Although the decline has been more precipitous in some countries than in others, few have escaped this trend.

As per capita grain production has declined in this agrarian society, so has per capita income. The African ministers responsible for economic development and planning are now painfully aware of this trend.

The prospects of trans-West African railroad systems are much dimmer than those for roads. With the English-speaking states forming "islands" in the contiguous block of Francophone countries, it will take significant political will, as well as major financing, to overcome the barriers to good intra-regional communications.

— RICHARD SYNGE

ing at negligible rates during the seventies, has consistently declined since 1980 at an average annual rate of 4.1 percent, and average per capita income is now between 15 and 25 percent less than 15 years ago.

In addition to declining per capita food production and income, Africa's foreign debt is growing, partly because of rising food imports. The region's cereal import bill climbed from \$600 million in 1972 to \$5.4 billion in 1983, a ninefold increase. By 1984, food imports claimed some 20 percent of total export earnings. Meanwhile, servicing the continent's debt, projected to reach \$170 billion by the end of 1985, requires an additional 22 percent of export earnings.

Africa's plight is rooted in its phenomenal rate of population growth, the fastest of any continent in history. The introduction of pub-

lic health measures and vaccinations has reduced death rates. But without parallel efforts to reduce birth rates, overall population growth has accelerated. As a result, Africa's population is now expanding at 3 percent a year, or twenty-fold per century.

This enormous growth in human numbers, now under way for a third of a century, is stressing natural support systems throughout the continent. In country after country, sustainable yield thresholds of forests and grasslands are being breached. Soil erosion, the loss of soil organic matter and the depletion of soil nutrients are diminishing land productivity over much of Africa.

Although the short-term effects of this environmental degradation are serious, accumulating evidence suggests that the continentwide

loss of vegetative cover and the degradation of soils may be disrupting long-term rainfall patterns as well. Although no meteorological models conclusively prove this link, policymakers must now confront the possibility that under the stresses imposed by growing populations, environmental and climate deterioration are reinforcing each other in Africa.

At issue is whether national governments and international assistance agencies can fashion new, environmentally sound development strategies to reverse the ecological deterioration and economic decline that is inflicting such suffering on the people of Africa. Without a mobilization of resources, the prospect of reversing the decline in per capita grain production is poor, suggesting that famine will become chronic, an enduring feature of the African landscape.

A Start on Intelcom I Link

LONDON — The Economic Community of West African States' \$60-million telecommunications project, known as Intelcom I, has been some years in gestation. Work on the first phase, costing \$12.5 million out of the ECOWAS Fund for Cooperation, Compensation and Development, started in 1983 and is due for completion in a few months. It provides a 300-channel link between Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, and Boko, a distance of 200 kilometers (124 miles); a 960-channel link, including television, between Koriogo, Ivory Coast, and Sikasso, Mali, a distance of 250 kilometers; a 120-channel link between Fada N'Gourma, Burkina Faso, and Boko, a distance of 150 kilometers; and

— RICHARD SYNGE



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New York
23 Wall Street
New York, NY 10015
USA

Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co
4 New York Plaza
New York, NY 10015
USA

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International Telecommunications
Dept
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London EC2P 23N

Union Bank of Switzerland
Bahnhofstrasse 45
8021 Zurich
Switzerland

Banque Nationale de Paris
20-22 Boulevard De Italian
75009 Paris
France

Chemical Bank
55 Water Street
New York, NY 10014
USA

Midland Bank PLC

International Division
PO Box 181
110-114 Cannon Street
London EC4N 6AA

BHF Bank
Postfach 11 03 11
D-6000 Frankfurt 1
West Germany

Berliner Bank AG
Zentrals
Hardenbergstrasse 32
PO Box 121709
D-1000 Berlin 12
West Germany

Banque Bruxelles Lambert SA
Cours Saint Michel 60
B-1040 Bruxelles

Algemene Bank Nederlands NV
PO Box 669
Vijzelstraat 32
Amsterdam, Holland

Standard Chartered Bank (GH)
Limited

Standard Chartered Bank
160 Water Street
New York

Standard Chartered Bank
73/79 King William Street
London EC4N 7AB

Standard Chartered Bank
Bleidenweg 62
Postfach 4322
CH-8022 Zurich

Bank of Credit & Commerce
(Gh) Limited

Bank of Credit & Commerce
International
120 Brickell Avenue
Miami, Florida 33133

Bank of Credit & Commerce
International
61 Mark Lane
London EC3R 7TN

Bank of Credit & Commerce
International
Bockenheimer
Landstrasse 51-53
Postfach 17-40-9
6000 Frankfurt, Main 1617

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Landstrasse 51-53
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6000 Frankfurt, Main 1617

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6000 Frankfurt, Main 1617

Banque de Commerce et de

Placements SA
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PO Box 215
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Bank of Credit & Commerce
(Overseas) Ltd
Avenue Marechal
BP 3084
Lome, Togo

Ghana Commercial Bank
Ghana Commercial Bank
69 Cheapside
London EC2P 2BB
01-248 0191

Barclays Bank of Ghana
Limited

Barclays Bank PLC
100 Water Street
New York, NY 10005

Barclays Bank PLC
PO Box 115
168 Fenchurch Street
London EC3P 3HP

Barclays Bank PLC
2000 Hamburg 11
Neuberg 1
Postfach 11 22 09

Barclays Bank PLC
PO Box 5172
CH-8022 Zurich

Barclays Bank PLC
Immeuble Alpha 2000
Rue Gourgas
01 BP 522 Abidjan 01
Cote D'Ivoire

Barclays Bank PLC
Immeuble Alpha 2000
Rue Gourgas
01 BP 522 Abidjan 01
Cote D'Ivoire

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Reserves	109,600	92,818	Investments	68,366	83,399
Deposits etc.	3,114,546	2,939,911	Loans & Advances	1,560,833	1,568,835
Contra Accounts	740,411	749,960	Contra Accounts	740,411	749,960
	<u>4,039,557</u>	<u>3,852,689</u>		<u>4,039,557</u>	<u>3,852,689</u>

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A SPECIAL REPORT ON WEST AFRICA

Nigeria's Expulsion Of Migrants Could End Old Tradition

By Stephen Smith

LOME — For centuries, migratory movements have been a feature of West African history. But the dramatic expulsion of an estimated 200,000 illegal aliens by Nigeria in May this year, after the 2 million already expelled in January 1983, definitely calls into question the traditional tolerance of migratory labor in this part of the world.

What is more, the periodic expulsions upset the concept of free movement of persons, widely viewed as one of the cardinal points of agreement among members of the Economic Community of West African States.

However, Nigeria's tough policy on immigration, unchanged since the military government under Major General Muhammadu Buhari took over power from the Shagari administration in January 1984, does not contravene the letter of the ECOWAS protocol on free movement of persons, right of residence and establishment, adopted at the Dakar summit in May 1979.

The first phase of the protocol, in effect since 1980, gives the right of entry for a visit of not more than 90 days without a visa only to those nationals of ECOWAS countries who are in possession of valid travel documents. This does not apply to most of the expelled aliens, who could not possibly comply with Nigeria's immigration or residence requirements, not to mention the fact that the protocol, at its present stage of implementation, does not confer any work privileges.

The right to establish commercial enterprises for any ECOWAS citizen in any ECOWAS country is only being envisaged for the third phase, from 1990 onward. This year, the second phase of the protocol, which gives the right of residence to any national within ECOWAS, was to be put into effect. But, as a major concession, especially to reluctant Nigeria, the heads of state decided, at their last summit meeting in Lomé, Togo, a few weeks ago, to postpone the implementation of this second phase until June 1986.

Outside Nigeria, hardly anyone would deny that the new exodus, with all its chaos, indignity, hardship, panic and danger, violates the spirit of ECOWAS. But the military government in Lagos invariably dish up the same justifications for the expulsions already advanced by the Shagari regime two years ago: the pressure on Nigeria's economy and the need to regularize employment practices, the growing crime rate and the involvement of aliens in prostitution and religious disturbances in northern cities.

At the opening ceremony of the recent Lomé summit, however, the Ghanaian minister of finance, Kwesi Botchway, spoke bluntly of

"the danger of making scapegoats of non-nationals by conveniently labeling them as 'illegal aliens'."

The danger, in fact, has always existed. In 1969, the government of Kofi Busia expelled the Nigerians from Ghana, which was, in the early sixties, the most dynamic nation in the region and consequently a magnet for migrants.

Apparently, as soon as the national economy falters, the principles of "African hospitality and brotherhood" suffer.

Nigeria has clearly shown that the ECOWAS protocol does not mean at all that a sovereign state need open its borders indiscriminately to the nationals of other West African countries. Rather, it has demonstrated that governments can use the protocol to control, if not hamper, migratory movements in the region.

Although migratory labor has always been a common feature of West African society, very little is really known about the movements of people across national boundaries.

Last December, the Nigerian government announced that 700,000 illegal aliens were known to be living in the country. However, reliable or dubious this estimate might be, the figure is surprisingly low, given a total population of roughly 100 million Nigerians.

Moreover, far more Nigerians live, as legal or illegal immigrants, in other West African countries than nationals of these countries live in Nigeria. More than 500,000 alone are in neighboring Niger, possibly as many in Ghana and about a million in Ivory Coast, a very appreciated destination for Nigerian migrants because of its relative prosperity and semiconvertible currency linked to the French franc.

To some extent, Ivory Coast, with its own sparse population of around 8 million people and at least 1.5 million people from Burkina Faso working in the country, appears today as an alternative to the Nigerian way of dealing with migratory labor and its problems.

The main motivation for the migrations in West Africa is economic, but, as the Guinean example showed, the line is often difficult to draw between political refugees and labor migrants. And a new, dramatic mass movement has started in the Sahelian zone, whence hundreds of thousands of people, driven by famine and drought, move steadily south.

Even though the ECOWAS heads of states in Lomé seem to have reached an informal agreement not to consider the victims of natural disasters as "illegal aliens," the problem makes evident that only a more cohesive common economic policy can help the community control the migratory movements in West Africa.



The Treichville market in Abidjan, Ivory Coast.

Organizational Overlap Slows Regional Unity

(Continued From Page 12)

with which its economic links approach the intimacy of Nigeria's ties with Benin or Niger, Ivory Coast's relatively prosperous economy employs large numbers of Africans from throughout the ECOWAS region.

In 1973, sensing Nigeria's growing petroleum-fueled economic power and increasingly active diplomacy, Ivory Coast pushed through the creation of the exclusively Francophone West African Economic Community (CEAO). Two years later, and largely due to Nigerian lobbying, ECOWAS was born.

No two economic organizations in West Africa have such similar goals as ECOWAS and CEAO, including greater economic integration, harmonization of customs codes and the use of common currency. Because of their similarities, ECOWAS and CEAO have become competitors for the loyalties of their members (all six CEAO members belong to ECOWAS).

As the brainchild of the Ivory Coast, CEAO was intended to give its relatively industrialized economy (along with that of Senegal) unrestricted access to the markets of the six member countries, which, by virtue of their 35 million inhabitants, would allow the nascent Ivorian industrial sector to achieve economies of scale. Incentives were provided for the weaker countries by the application of a "regional cooperation tax" on intraregional exports, with most of the revenues being plowed back to the non-industrialized members.

In creating ECOWAS, Nigeria had aims very similar to those of the Ivory Coast, that is, ensuring market access for what promised to be a burgeoning national industrial sector. The price to be paid for such access turned out to be a commitment to support the free movement of people and goods throughout the ECOWAS zone.

While Ivory Coast went along "so as not to be accused of being a spoil sport," in the words of one ECOWAS official, the majority of the region's countries were truly

enthusiastic about the possibility of furnishing the Nigerian industrial sector with raw materials and exporting workers to the booming oil economy, where they would do jobs that had become distasteful to Nigerians.

The two organizations coexisted in quiet competition throughout the 1970s, when economic growth was high and the Nigerian oil boom was in full steam. With the beginning of the 1980s, however, the whole region was plunged into recession and the two "economic motors," Nigeria and Ivory Coast, found themselves less and less able to carry the weight of their respective creations.

The crisis in regional economic organization broke into the open when the Nigerian government of former President Shagari ordered the expulsion of millions of "alien" Africans, mostly from ECOWAS-member Ghana, calling into question a principal tenet of the community: the free movement of peoples.

The CEAO, on the other hand, had progressed much further than its counterpart in the crucial area of trade liberalization. However, the price of this liberalization was increasing "compensation" by Ivory Coast and Senegal to their poorer neighbors. In 1980, these two governments, noting the decline in intraregional trade, decided that they would have to slow their transfer of resources to the weaker states, thus calling into question the future of the organization.

There has been an increasing awareness of the irrationality and expense of maintaining the two organizations. However, as with the money issue, neither side is willing to make the crucial concessions first. Ivory Coast, which has long enjoyed its CEAO position as a "big fish in a small pond," has qualified its commitments to ECOWAS, saying that "when it becomes more functional, we can dissolve CEAO." Critics answer that not until the CEAO countries become serious about ECOWAS can it become more functional.

—HOWARD FRENCH

Debt Crisis Forcing Economic Rethinking

(Continued From Page 9)

and the value of the dollar. Since its first "standby agreement" with the IMF in 1983, the Ivory Coast government has frozen civil service salaries, severely restricted new hiring, reduced subsidies on basic goods and services, including electricity, gasoline, bread, sugar and rice, liquidated some unprofitable state corporations, reduced educational scholarships and introduced a tariff schedule for public health care.

This broad range of measures is most remarkable for the lack of public outcry it has provoked. The rise in rice prices was seen as a major factor in the overthrow of civilian governments in Liberia, in 1979, and Nigeria, in 1984.

After three years of negative growth, the Ivorian government is expecting a slight recovery this year, largely due to the return of abundant rains and excellent crop results.

However, with the continent's highest per-capita debt burden, Ivory Coast cannot yet afford to jettison its austerity programs. Instead, the government is pushing ahead with a controversial World Bank-planned restructuring of its thin and fragile industrial sector.

The World Bank reforms, which one Abidjan banker described as "a highly risky experiment," involve the removal of government protection for inefficient import-substituting local industries and the introduction of a number of incentives for truly competitive export industries.

The incentives to the exporters are intended to encourage "industries with inherent [production] advantages," allowing them to compete abroad.

Critics of this plan point out that despite the proliferation of regional economic organizations, like ECOWAS and its rival, the Francophone Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest, there is very little economic integration in the region and the obstacles toward increased intra-regional trade are great, thus hindering progress on the export front for Ivorian industries.

The country's industrialists fear that the reforms were hastily conceived and will lead to a collapse of the nascent Ivorian industrial sector, this despite the promise of World Bank Vice President Jean-Loup Dherse that "the bank will not allow Ivory Coast to fall on its face."

A common thread that runs through the efforts of most ECOWAS states' efforts at economic reform is the rehabilitation of inefficient and unproductive capital investments.

The logic of such a strategy is imposing, as the unavailability of fresh capital obliges governments to salvage failed projects from the past. The strategies for such rehabilitation efforts have varied, though most often, governments endeavor either to sell off or lease idle or inefficient industrial plants, usually built with government aid by "parastatal" firms.

Nigeria's foreign reserves crunch, which has followed the halving of its oil export revenues since 1980 (oil provides some 90 percent of the country's export earnings), has obliged the government of Major General Muhammadu Buhari to scrap planned investments in expensive new projects, such as the transfer of the capital to centrally located Abuja, the creation of a subway system in overcrowded Lagos and the ambitious expansion of steel and petrochemical plants.

problem of money-losing state firms in this way.

The largest common denominator in economic policy throughout the ECOWAS region is the renewed emphasis on agriculture.

All of the Sahelian-zone members are threatened by drought and famine and have in recent years become increasingly dependent upon international food aid. In the other countries of the region, the exorbitant cost of food imports needed to make up the difference between national production and demand has affected their economies as much as the "oil shocks" of the 1970s.

The past few years have seen the emergence of a strong consensus at the national level, as well as among international aid sources, for making better agricultural production the No. 1 priority.

In 1984, after a two-year drought through much of coastal West Africa, Ghana, Togo and Ivory Coast registered progress in boosting food production. Nigeria has re-

sorted to the unique tactic of requiring banks to allocate a minimum of 6 percent of their loans to the agricultural sector and is refusing foreign exchange to firms which would import products that could be produced by local agriculture.

All of the ECOWAS countries are suffering from the problem of rural exodus, which hinders efforts at boosting food production. Nigeria has employed a policy of benign neglect toward would-be urban dwellers. A diplomat in Lagos said that "by doing nothing to improve prospects of employment here, people are being 'discouraged' back to the countryside."

Ghana has resettled returned citizens from two massive expulsions of its citizens by Nigeria to its villages, where agriculture is the only remunerative occupation available. However, most countries have remained perplexed by the problem of urban migration, not having the means to resettle them or accommodate them in the cities.

—HOWARD FRENCH

CONTRIBUTORS

LESTER R. BROWN, director of Worldwatch Institute, an independent Washington research organization, wrote "Reversing Africa's Decline" (June 1985), a Worldwatch Paper, with Edward C. Wolf. He has also written "The Twenty-Ninth Day: Accommodating Human Needs and Numbers to the Earth's Resources" and "Building a Sustainable Society" (W.W. Norton Company).

MARK DOYLE is a journalist with the London-based weekly newsmagazine West Africa.

HOWARD FRENCH is an Abidjan-based journalist who contributes to The Washington Post, The Economist and other publications.

RANDELL E. MOORE is a financial journalist based in Washington. He formerly worked for the Commodity Futures Trading Commission.

BRIGID PHILLIPS is a Paris-based journalist.

HOWARD SCHISSEL is a Paris-based journalist who specializes in French-speaking Africa and the Maghreb.

STEPHEN SMITH is a West African correspondent of Radio France Internationale.

RICHARD SYNGE is West Africa editor of the London-based Africa Economic Digest.

EDWARD C. WOLF, a researcher at Worldwatch Institute, an independent Washington research organization, is the coauthor with Lester R. Brown of the Worldwatch Paper "Reversing Africa's Decline" (June 1985).

Statistics Index

ANEX index	P. 16	Business reports	P. 17
ANEX index/100	P. 16	Price index	P. 17
NYSE index	P. 16	Gold market	P. 17
NYSE index/100	P. 16	Interest rates	P. 17
Commodity index	P. 16	Market summary	P. 17
Currency rates	P. 16	Oil prices	P. 17
Commodity prices	P. 16	OTC stock	P. 17
Oil prices	P. 16	Other markets	P. 17

SATURDAY-SUNDAY, JULY 27-28, 1985

ECONOMIC SCENE

Budget Action Called Vital
To Give Dollar Soft Landing

By LEONARD SILK
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — How can a crash landing for the dollar — which might regenerate inflation, send interest rates soaring and plunge the United States and other countries into a recession — be prevented? The key to a solution, in the view of a broad consensus of economists, is for the United States to take decisive action to reduce the federal budget deficit over the next several years. This would have the effect of reducing American demand for foreign capital and freeing the Federal Reserve to pursue an easier monetary policy that would bring down interest rates.

However, financial markets in recent weeks have been filled with what one Wall Street executive calls "a sense of disgust with the politicians" over their failure to agree on a plan for reducing the deficit significantly.

A rise in net U.S. exports can happen only if other nations expand more rapidly.

"All year long, the No. 1 issue has been the deficit, and here we are in late July and nothing has been done," Scott Pardee, executive vice president of Discount Corp. of America, said.

But even if the Senate and the House of Representatives reach a compromise on a deficit-reducing plan that President Ronald Reagan is willing to accept, the United States may not be able to correct the misalignment of the dollar without the cooperation of other countries.

EVEN IF the dollar comes down in an orderly but decisive way in the coming year — say, by 20 percent — there is a high probability that the U.S. trade deficit will continue widening for another year or year and a half because of the existence of what economists call the J-curve.

Initially, a drop in the dollar's value will increase the amount of money Americans must pay for imports and reduce what they collect for their exports. This country's net export position will reach bottom and start to rise only when the fall in the dollar has had time to change relative prices and swell the volume of net exports enough to make up for the effect of more costly foreign goods and cheaper U.S. goods.

Because the United States consumes less foreign goods and borrows less capital from abroad than its trading partners, a rise in net U.S. exports and decline in net foreign exports can take place only if other industrial countries expand their economies at a more rapid pace to create a larger market for American goods.

But if foreigners fail to grow faster, not only would the U.S. trade deficit continue to worsen but, with a resulting slump in the world economy, unemployment, already at record postwar levels in Europe, would rise, protectionism would grow throughout the industrial world and the plight of the debt-ridden Third World would worsen.

By contrast, a world economy that continues to expand as the United States corrects the overvaluation of the dollar would make possible a readjustment of trade patterns that would be relatively painless as total exports expand. The alternative of readjusting trade by shrinking world imports would be painful and disruptive.

A number of economists, including C. Fred Bergsten and Stephen Morris of the Institute for International Economics, and Robert V. Roosa, a partner of Brown Brothers Harriman, believe that monetary cooperation between the Federal Reserve and other major central banks, together with coordinated intervention in the foreign-exchange market, will be crucial to prevent an overshooting of the dollar on the downside as foreign capital takes flight and speculators move in for the kill.

Speculation against the dollar has been given an extra twist by worries about Mr. Reagan's health. This has caused some financial experts to feel that it is more important than ever for the United States to be prepared to intervene in currency markets to bring a crash landing of the dollar. Some believe the United States should have been building a strategic reserve of foreign currencies (Continued on Page 18, Col. 1)

Ford Has
23% Fall
In Profit

But Result Is
Best of Big 3

The Associated Press

DETROIT — Ford Motor Co. said Friday its second-quarter earnings were 23 percent below those in the year-earlier period, but still were the best results of the three major U.S. automakers, all suffering from a down year.

Ford's net income totaled \$698.7 million, or \$3.75 a share, compared with \$909.1 million, or \$4.95 a share, a year earlier. Sales totaled \$13.8 billion, down 2 percent from \$14.1 billion.

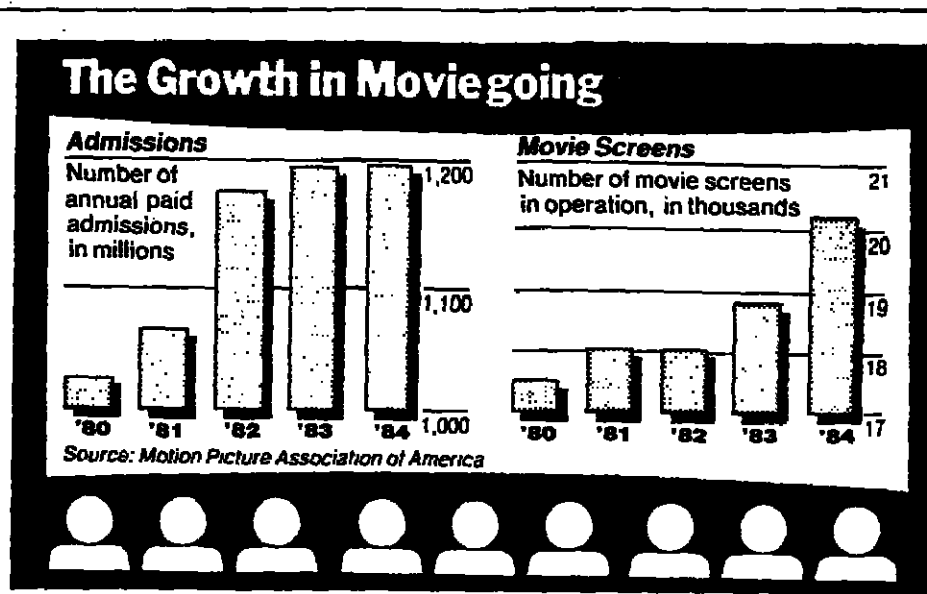
First-half earnings totaled \$1.48 billion, or \$7.95 a share, down 18 percent from \$1.81 billion, or \$9.85 a share, in the year-earlier period. Sales totaled \$27.05 billion, down slightly from the \$27.1 billion.

General Motors Corp. earlier reported that its second-quarter earnings were down 28 percent from the year-earlier figure, while Chrysler Corp. earnings declined 25 percent.

"I think [Ford's] might be better right now in terms of more Thunderbird and Mustangs and [Lincoln] Town Cars," said Joseph Phillips, automotive analyst with the New York brokerage house, E.F. Hutton. Ford did well because "if you're selling big cars, and if the option mix is right, you're going to be doing better," he said.

He added that GM's figures showed no increase in the number of dollars earned from each car, a fact attributed by analysts to a heavier emphasis on small cars.

Donald E. Peters, Ford chairman, and Harold A. Poling, president, said the earnings decline was accounted for by higher taxes and increased marketing and product development costs. They said improved productivity and higher earnings from Ford's finance and insurance operations partially offset the negative factors.



U.S. Movie-Theater Owners Bullish
Despite Boom in Video, Pay TV

By Geraldine Fabrikant
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — When Manhattan moviegoers arrived at the Loews Tower East theater on Memorial Day weekend, they found the price of a ticket had jumped to \$6, from \$5. A comparable surprise awaited audiences at the RKO theaters on the Upper West Side.

So far, the price increase does not appear to have hurt box-office attendance, and other New York theater chains may soon follow suit. "We will look at the question by the end of the year," said Sheldon Gumbert, chairman of the Walter Reade Organization, which owns 13 screens in New York.

The price rise in New York was just one of the signs of a general feeling of bullishness among theater owners nationally about their long-term prospects. Despite the spread of pay television and video cassette players, which many observers thought would cripple the theater business, theater owners around the United States "are building like mad," said Joseph Alterman, executive vice president of the National Association of Theater Owners.

Mr. Alterman expects the number of screens to jump to about 21,300 this year from 20,200, or about 6.5 percent. In an age of multi-screen theaters, the size of the industry is most accurately measured by the number of screens.

Some theater owners doubt that the expansion is healthy, however. They foresee problems if the movie studios cut back on film production, which is now on the increase, and there are not enough

new films — or audiences — for all the theaters being built.

Nevertheless, executives at most major U.S. chains seem determined to cement their share of the market by expanding. The General Cinema Corp., for example, the largest U.S. theater circuit with more than 1,100 screens, is spending \$22 million this year to build 125 new screens.

Certainly 1984 was a good year for movies, with such box-office hits as "Ghostbusters," "Gremlins," "The Karate Kid" and "Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom." While the number of tickets sold increased by less than 1 percent, to 1.199 billion, box-office receipts rose 7 percent, to \$4 billion.

So far this year, however, the studios have failed to come up with comparably strong pictures, and the number of tickets sold is down about 12 percent.

Nevertheless, exhibitors have been encouraged by the boom in film production — attributable in part to the rise of pay-TV and cassette players.

"The irony is that the new media may have hurt box-office attendance on the one hand, but on the other, it has encouraged the movie companies to produce more films, so that we have benefited from an increased supply," said Sumner Redstone, president of National Amusements Inc., which owns 325 screens.

Seven years ago, the major distributors released 121 films. Last year, they released 167, and no slowdown is yet apparent.

That has given the exhibitors more power in (Continued on Page 18, Col. 1)

China Increases
Interest Rates to
Restrict Growth

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BEIJING — China announced on Friday a sharp increase in interest rates to try to restrain economic growth, which is destabilizing the economy as it opens up further to the outside.

China's central bank, the People's Bank of China, has also told local branches to cut down on loans, which have exacerbated the problem.

The bank said it would raise interest rates on most individual deposits and on loans for capital investment in urban areas beginning Aug. 1.

It is the second increase this year and reflects the rising cost of living under economic reforms aimed at giving China a market-oriented economy and dismantling the subsidy system that has kept costs artificially low.

Xinhua news agency said annual interest rates for six-month savings deposits held by individuals will rise to 6.12 percent from 5.40 percent, while 12-month savings deposits rates will rise to 7.2 percent from 6.84 percent.

Interest rates on some types of loans for fixed-asset investment by state and collective enterprises and for production equipment for rural enterprises will also rise.

One-year loan interest rates will rise to 7.92 percent from 5.04 percent; one-to-three-year loans to 8.64 percent from 5.76 percent; three to five years to 9.36 percent from 6.48 percent; five to 10 years to 10.08 percent from 7.20 percent, and minimum 10-year loans to 10.80 percent from 7.92 percent.

The Economic Daily quoted the People's Bank president, Chen Muhua, as saying the government was using interest rates and other administrative measures to curb fixed-asset investments.

"All banks must give loans only according to the state plan. Any that go outside the plan will be

investigated and must bear the responsibility," she said.

The government tried to cool the overheated economy by clamping down on bank loans earlier this year, but the latest official statistics for economic growth and bank loans still show big increases in the first half of the year.

Imports in the first half soared by more than 70 percent, leading to a trade deficit of \$3.16 billion, serious congestion at China's major ports and a sharp drop in foreign exchange reserves.

The government has placed tight controls on imports, especially of consumer goods, and has promised to slow economic development.

But senior officials have stressed that the basic policy of reform and opening up to the rest of the world would not change. (Reuters, AP)

Germany Posts
Trade Deficit

Reuters

WIESBADEN, West Germany — West Germany reported a deficit on its current account of 600 million Deutsche marks (\$309.3 million) in June, compared with an upward-revised surplus of 6.1 billion DM in May, the Federal Statistics Office said Friday.

In June last year, the current account, which measures trade in goods and services as well as interest, dividends and certain transfers, showed a 2.7-billion-DM deficit.

The surplus on merchandise trade narrowed to a provisional 5.5 billion DM in June from an upward revised 7.5 billion-DM surplus in May, the office said. In June 1984 the trade surplus was 1.3 billion DM.

Pessimism Surrounds Efforts by Venezuela to Attract Foreign Investment

By Tyler Bridges
Washington Post Service

CARACAS — Venezuela has launched a campaign to attract foreign investment, but business officials here are not optimistic about its chances for success.

President Jaime Lusinchi of Venezuela traveled to the United States in April to extol business opportunities here. In June, his administration issued long-awaited rules relaxing controls on foreign investment.

Mr. Lusinchi, who took office in February 1984, hopes foreign investment will return to the levels of the 1960s and 1970s, when funds were attracted here by political stability and a rapidly growing economy fueled by oil revenue.

Increased foreign investment would boost growth and diversify the oil-dependent economy. Oil provides two-thirds of government revenue, accounts for 25 percent of gross national product and brings in 90 percent of export earnings.

GNP measures the total value of goods and services, including income from foreign investments. Mr. Lusinchi's effort reverses years of government policies hostile to investment by foreigners. Venezuela had enacted a series of policies that kept out foreign investment in some industries and strictly regulated it in others.

But the government has decided, as Finance Minister Manuel Azpurza says, that "foreign investment is better than foreign debt."

Venezuela has a \$35-billion combined public- and private-sector foreign debt.

However, businessmen remain wary of Venezuela's new interest in luring investment.

"The foreign investment climate is at rock bottom," said R. Foster Perry, president of U.S.-based Teldyne Corp., a Venezuelan subsidiary. "I don't see any new investment coming here."

Foreign investors blame their lack of enthusiasm on Venezuela's economic slump and the debt crisis.

Falling oil prices in the early 1980s caused confidence in the country to plummet, leading nervous investors to send billions of dollars abroad. This forced the government to devalue the nation's currency, the bolivar, in February 1983.

Economic growth has fallen sharply since 1983. Unemployment has climbed to an estimated 20 percent and living standards have fallen to 1973 levels.

Businessmen have applauded the government's pro-investment rhetoric and the thrust of the June rules changes.

They also praised Mr. Lusinchi for cutting government spending. But businessmen say the country's dismal economic numbers make the government's efforts seem inadequate.

"The government's new stance is helpful, but the key to increased foreign investment is the expectation of higher profits," said John Pate, a Caracas lawyer.

Few are optimistic about future economic growth. Venezuela's economy will remain flat as long as the international oil market stays weak, analysts say, adding that oil prices are unlikely to rise in the next few years.

"Foreign investors' confidence in the economy is still low," said Paul Bosch, president of Paul Bosch Associates, a Caracas consulting firm.

By adhering to the price levels of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, of which it is a founding member, Venezuela has lost markets recently to competitors. Exports of heavy crude oil are 300,000 barrels a day lower today than in March, a decrease that has cost the government \$600 million.

Venezuela, however, still is in better shape than its neighbors. The country has \$13 billion in foreign reserves and should sign an accord this year with foreign banks to reschedule its \$21-billion public-sector debt.

The pact will be the first Latin American debtor has signed without intervention of the International Monetary Fund.

Currency Rates

Currency	Rate	Currency	Rate	Currency	Rate
American dollar	1.00	British pound	1.78	Japanese yen	163.50
French franc	6.55	West German mark	3.36	Swiss franc	2.03
Italian lira	2036.00	Spanish peseta	166.64	Portuguese escudo	200.48
Belgian franc	36.36	Dutch guilder	3.76	Australian dollar	1.48
Canadian dollar	0.75	New Zealand dollar	0.45	South African rand	1.67
Israeli sheqel	1.80	Israeli sheqel	1.80	Israeli sheqel	1.80
Israeli sheqel	1.80	Israeli sheqel	1.80	Israeli sheqel	1.80

Interest Rates

Rate	Rate	Rate	Rate	Rate	Rate
1 month	8.00%	3 months	8.50%	6 months	9.00%
9 months	9.50%	1 year	10.00%	2 year	11.00%
3 year	12.00%	5 year	13.00%	10 year	14.00%

Japan Steps Up Its Investment in U.S. Business

By Peter T. Kilborn
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — This week's announcement by Toyota Motor Corp. of Japan that it would build an automobile factory in the United States marks the development of an important new phase in the often turbulent economic relations between the two countries, according to Japanese officials and economists here.

In a little more than a year, Japan has risen to the front rank of foreign owners of U.S. industry, along with Britain, Canada, West Germany and the Netherlands.

With the surge in investment, a country that has been most conspicuous, and often berated, for the goods it ships to the United States is now becoming conspicuous as well for the goods it makes in the country.

Last year, according to the Commerce Department, Japanese companies and their affiliates in the United States poured \$1.7 billion into U.S. businesses in so-called direct investment, more than three times the average of \$490 million

annually that they had spent in the preceding five years. Direct investment includes outright ownership of factories or the ownership of 10 percent or more of a U.S. enterprise.

Japan is still third, behind Britain and Canada, in such investments made last year, but it has surpassed West Germany and the Netherlands and is climbing fast.

In the first three months of this year, the department said, Japan put \$600 million more into such assets. "Generally speaking," said a Japanese official of the Bank of Tokyo, "there's more investment coming."

Japan's primary motivation, analysts say, is to seek refuge from the heat of protectionism. By running factories in the United States, Japan can insulate itself from the quotas, tariffs, surcharges and other barriers to imports from Japan that an angry Congress keeps threatening to impose.

The Japanese "have understood that in the long run, the best way to improve their situation in the United States was to invest here," said

Robert D. Hormats, an economist at Goldman, Sachs & Co. and a former senior State Department official. "What we're seeing now is the result of a number of judgments made by Japanese over a number of years, starting in the mid-seventies."

Another reason for Japan's stepped-up investment in the United States is that it is the only major country with an economy nearly as healthy as Japan's — and it is a bigger one as well.

In any case, such investment is stirring far less apprehension than Japanese imports.

"They're buying access to the market, and I don't think we quarrel with it very much," said Roger Majak, staff director of the trade subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. "We've been doing the same thing in Europe."

Although some critics worry that Japanese investors, rather than American stockholders, will reap the profits, others view the investments as a way to keep factories open and workers employed. And

of course American investors can also share in the profits by buying stock in the companies that are listed on U.S. exchanges.

Despite its multibillion-dollar dimensions, Japanese direct investment is still a minuscule part of U.S. business. Last year, for example, the profits of all industry in the United States came to \$263 billion, according to the Commerce Department, with Japanese companies accounting for well under 1 percent.

The automobile companies are becoming Japan's biggest investors in the United States. Honda came first, in Ohio, then Nissan, in Tennessee. They will be followed soon by Mazda, Mitsubishi and now Toyota.

But scores of other Japanese companies, many whose brands have become familiar to American consumers, have also made inroads. Japanese companies now

control about 350 businesses in the United States, according to the Japan Economic Institute in Washington, an agency of the Japanese government.

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U.S. Movie-Theater Owners in Optimistic Mood

(Continued from Page 15)

negotiating contracts with movie distributors to play films. When there were fewer movies, as was the case in the mid-1970s, exhibitors had to bid aggressively for the right to play them.

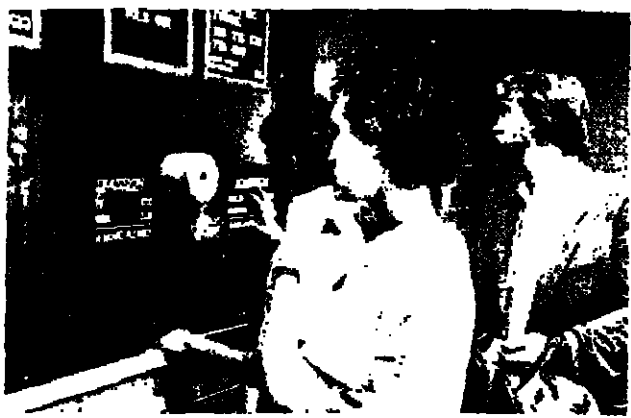
Now, with an expanded supply, only a few films still command large guarantees—a fixed sum that theater owners must pay distributors in advance for the right to play films expected to be highly desirable. If a film fails, a theater owner can lose at least a portion of his guarantee.

"There were years when you felt you had to have a picture like 'The Empire Strikes Back,' because there was nothing else," said Lawrence Gleason, president of Mann Theaters in Los Angeles. "Now if you don't get the Bond films, you can play 'Rambo' or 'Cocoon.' There are more films perceived as big pictures."

Nor are exhibitors forced to continue playing poor films because they lack alternatives, now they can turn over films more quickly in the hope of coming up with a profitable hit.

"We are into a mini-plut," said Richard Fox, president of Fox Theaters, which owns 77 screens. "You always have another picture to turn to. We played 'Perfect' for three weeks. Three years ago we would have had to hold onto it longer." "Perfect," a drama about a California health club starring John Travolta and Jamie Lee Curtis, has done poorly at the box office.

The reduction in expenses relat-



Moviegoers at Loews 84th Street theater in Manhattan.

ed to showing films has been a major factor in the earnings performance of the major chains. For example, operating profits at General Cinema's film division rose about 6 percent to \$37.6 million last year, from \$35.5 million, despite a slight decline in revenue.

Theater owners contend that if they build large, technically sophisticated theaters, which make moviegoing a dramatically different experience from home viewing, audiences will respond.

"We are building better theaters, no more bowling alleys," Mr. Fox said, referring to an earlier trend to chop up large, older theaters into a so-called multiplex of small theaters with 200 to 250 seats each. Today multiplexes are still the rage, but the individual theaters house more than 300 seats each.

National Amusements, for example, built a 10-screen multiplex

in Commack, on Long Island, last year at which no theater seated fewer than 350 people.

"For the theater owner," Mr. Redstone said, "the sophisticated multiplex eliminates the possibility of missing a major film. And it becomes an entertainment center to which audiences come back." He added: "We have found that the greater the number of screens at a multiplex, the larger the per-screen gross. A bit does well anywhere, but the middle-range pictures benefit, too."

Despite the enthusiasm voiced, so far 1983 has not fulfilled exhibitors' hopes. They generally attribute the soft business to an absence of movie blockbusters. But they remain optimistic because a rash of films are scheduled to open between now and Labor Day.

Last summer, the studios, worried that the Olympics would hurt

audiences away from theaters, rushed to open all their films early.

"You could have closed the summer off after July 1 last year," said Joel Redstone, chairman of AMC Entertainment Inc., a national theater chain. "This year, I'm not going to cry and weep. This could be a very healthy summer."

But some see longer-range problems, saying that overbuilding will come to haunt the industry.

"The reason that everybody is building is a combination of unbridled ego, a piratical desire for power and a shortage of common sense," Mr. Redstone said. "In the Sun Belt, they are building across the street from each other. The construction of theaters in some areas strains the limits of common sense and credibility."

The increasing supply of theaters, together with the proliferation of VCRs and pay-TV, have made it tougher for theater owners to raise ticket prices enough to keep pace with inflation.

New York prices may be among the highest in the United States, but the 20-percent increase at certain theaters here is the first in about five years. And on a percentage basis, New York is playing catch-up with the rest of the country, where the price of an average ticket has risen 25 percent, to \$3.36, since 1980.

Few theater owners are forecasting further dramatic price increases for the near future. "We want to maintain the perception that this is a cheap form of entertainment," Mr. Redstone of AMC said.

Friday's AMEX Closing

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere.

Via The Associated Press

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Japan Raises Stakes in U.S. Business

[illegible]

BLONDIE

DOWN	DOWN	DÓWN	DOWN
44 General Eaker	63 Treated shabbily	83 Elec. connection	97 Tarzan producer Lesser
45 Green quartz	64 Lancaster and Reynolds	96 N.A.F.P.	98 Stumble
46 This, to Tardie	65 Pay dirt	96 Diamond stat.	100 Posen closer
48 Caspian's eastern neighbor	66 Small bottles	97 "... thou shalt not..." : Gen. 2:17	101 Busy place
51 Gazelle of Tibet	67 Suffix for confer	98 Construction worker	102 Nibble's cousin
52 River in Spain and Portugal	68 Part of P.S. 75 Gallic faith	98 Carcass, in Chichester	103 Marshy areas
53 Small role	69 Bestowed	92 Play the flúze	104 Pavlov
55 Minute, flattened body	70 Foo's "Hop"	93 Most accurate	105 "Gandle Follows His..." : H. Brown
56 Coin-slot	71 Affix	95 Ouida's real name	106 No-see-um
57 Cakes	72 Affix	96 Ouida's real name	107 Explorer Johnson
	73 Affix		108 --- gratia

BLONDIE

A BATTERY OPERATED RLY SWARTER

NO!

HAVE YOU EVER SAID YES TO ME?

NO!

WOULD YOU LIKE A FREE KICK?

YES!

BOO!

MADE HIM SAY YES!

BEETLE BAILEY

SARGE, WOULD YOU PICK SOME FLOWERS FOR ME?

HOW DO YOU PICK FLOWERS?

OH, GET ON WITH YOU, YOU'RE THE FUNNIEST MAN!

YOU WEREN'T KIDDING

MOG WALKER

7-23

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ANDY CAPP:

QUIET IN HERE TONIGHT, JACK - APART FROM HER.

YOUR MUM-IN-LAW IS A BIT LOUD - MIND TELLING HER TO WATCH HER LANGUAGE, ANDY?

WILL DO.

SHE JUMPS WHEN HE SPEAKS - ALL OVER HIM!

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WIZARD of ID

1/11 RUNNING A "WHY I LOVE ID" ESSAY CONTEST

WHAT'S THE PRIZE?

A WEEK IN ROME

ALEX MORGAN

IS MR. TOMPKINS READY FOR ME, JEAN?

YES! I JUST HOPE YOU'RE READY FOR HIM!

WHAT DO YOU MEAN?

HE JUST GOT A CALL FROM TERRY HALL. SHE MADE THE SALE IN SAN DIEGO THAT YOU COULDN'T MAKE! GOOD LUCK!

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GARFIELD

AND NOW FOR A BRIEF MUSICAL INTERLUDE WITH MR. SKINS

NO! NO! NOT THAT ONE!

BOOM BOOM BOOM BOOM BOOM

NOT THE LITHUANIAN RAIN DANCE

7-27 JIM DAVIS

The FBI took over. After the meeting, Dean says, he rode with Kleindienst to the Justice Department.

Now Kleindienst says he was never at this meeting. Moreover, he says John Mitchell told him he was there. He says he was never at any White House conference with Ehrlichman, Haldebrand and Dean together. He thus suggests the June 20 conference was largely Dean's fabrication.

Why has he waited all this time to raise the point? He says that because of the "sorrow" always evoked by memories of that time he long declined to read any of the Watergate memoirs, so, not until he glanced through Dean's "Blind Ambition" while preparing his own book did he stumble across the account of the June 20 meeting.

It scarcely seems possible that Kleindienst could have missed accounts of the June 20 meeting, which had been part of the conventional wisdom about Watergate until a few years before Dean's book appeared in 1976 and had been amply discussed in the press and Congress.

This is not to suggest that Kleindienst is consciously lying. Indeed, there is something so earnest, so heartfelt about this book that it is difficult not to believe in the attorney general's sincerity.

There is another explanation for his tardiness in setting the record straight. As he puts it, "I knew I would be powerless, anyway, in that period of confusion, to correct any inaccuracies." Clearly, he now regrets the silence he kept sufficiently to clear his name, which he feels was besmirched by inaccurate press accounts, self-serving memoirs, vindictive prosecutors, and — worst of all — his conviction for failing to respond fully to questions at a congressional hearing, which brought him a suspended jail sentence and a \$100 fine.

Kleindienst reviews the events that led to that conviction, the so-called "ITT affair," in which the White House apparently intervened to waver down the antitrust action against the multinational conglomerate. Although Richard M. Nixon called Kleindienst on Aug. 19, 1971, to order him to halt the prosecution, Kleindienst told the Senate Judiciary Committee that he was not interested with anybody at the White House. I was not informed. I was not pressured. I was not directed."

In defense of his position, Kleindienst argues that he refused to follow the president's order and that the subsequent settlement of the ITT suit stemmed from quite different events. Yet, in light of that April 19 call, it is hard to see how he could tell the committee he was not "pressured" by anyone at the White House.

Elsewhere, Kleindienst vigorously defends Nixon

On's attempt to put Clement Haynsworth on the Supreme Court, argues that Archibald Cox was too partisan to serve as Watergate special prosecutor, and settles some old scores with John Ehrlichman. Old scores, indeed. Whatever reason Kleindienst may have had for delaying this rebuttal, few readers are likely to care much about the minutiae of events that most of the nation digested a decade ago.

That is too bad. There is a rough-hewn kind of honor about the man that sets him apart from the sleazy gang that staffed the Nixon White House. He probably deserves somewhat better than he has received at the hands of history — but, at this remove, it will be hard to set the record straight.

J. Anthony Lukas is a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist whose next book, "Common Ground: A Turbulent Decade in the Lives of Three American Families," is scheduled to be published this fall. He wrote this review for The Washington Post.

"IF YA DIDN'T WANT TO HEAR THAT ANSWER, YOU SHOULDN'T HAVE ASKED THAT QUESTION."

[illegible][illegible]

Via Agence France-Presse July 26
Closing prices in local currencies unless otherwise indicated

Class	Class	Class

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

To Our Readers
 Montreal stock market quotations were not available in this edition because of transmission problems.

SPORTS

VANTAGE POINT/George Vecsey
and Slaughter Begat Rose...

New York Times Service
NEW YORK — They would go to quaint Crosley Field, father and son, and root for the Cincinnati Reds against all comers, but the St. Louis Cardinals came on, the father would turn to son and say: Watch the old guy in right field. I want you to play like

the old guy in right field was Ed. Enos Slaughter, the never-stopped running on ball field. Ran to his position, to the dugout. Ran to home. Ran over the first baseman's head if he got half a chance.

The little boy in Cincinnati with rosy cheeks and the map of Ohio on his father's advice, imitated the man from the Cardinals. Six or seven years from now, Pete Rose will follow Enos Slaughter into the Baseball Hall of Fame.

Slaughter's day arrives Sunday, as he and the late Arky Hahn will be inducted into the Hall of Fame in Cincinnati. The Cardinals' selection by baseball writers' committee last year, Lou Brock and Hoyt Wilhelm, who were selected by the vote of baseball writers, will also be

inducted. Slaughter is one of the great story lines of baseball as it tries to catch another legend, Babe Ruth, in total base hits. One of the Cardinals' minor-league teams, the Cardinals' old-timers' day, Phil Rizzuto interviewed Stan Musial and Mantle, whose affinity for the Cardinals has improved greatly since he discovered he could make a living by being nice.

Without much coaxing, Mantle told his father, Mutt, had driven up from Commerce, Oklahoma, to Springfield, Missouri, to watch the Cardinals' minor-league team in 1940, and how Mutt Mantle told his eight-year-old son, "Watch this fellow named Musial. He's going to be a major leaguer some day." Musial made his debut in St. Louis barely a year later, giving young Mickey Mantle some incentive to roar like a comet to the major leagues at the age of 19.

The daily words of baseball for over a century have produced some epic cross-pollination. Musial carries the nickname "Stan the Man" from fans in Brooklyn grown weary of watching him climb the Dodgers into submission, and Rose proudly carries the nickname "Charley Hustle" from the sultry Sunday afternoon in Tampa, Florida, in 1963, when two Yankees watched him run during an exhibition. But the reader already knows that the two fast-cat Yankees, puffing



Enos Slaughter

in Ebbs Field, not seeming to grasp that Stengel had once paroled that field.

Mantle was not quite as devoid of baseball background as it might have seemed. A few weeks ago at the Yankees' old-timers' day, Phil Rizzuto interviewed Stan Musial and Mantle, whose affinity for the Cardinals has improved greatly since he discovered he could make a living by being nice.

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at the intense rookie, were Whitey Ford and Mantle.

The Yankees of the postwar dynasty were professional about hitting from first to third on a base hit, but they were not awed by exuberance. Stengel obtained Slaughter for his hustle in 1954, and the tough old bird served two hitches with the Yankees. Some of the old-guard Yankees would snicker when Slaughter raced to first base on a walk, but the old boy had earned his respect with the Gas House Gang of St. Louis more than a decade earlier.

Slaughter had learned his lesson in the minor leagues when his manager, Eddie Dyer, asked him if he was weary because he had not run out a grounder to the infield. Jobs were scarce in the '30's, and Slaughter told the manager that he felt just fine.

He told Billy Southworth he was just fine in 1941, when he ran into a concrete wall and broke his collarbone. He finished the game, but they made him take a month off, until he argued his way back into the lineup. He swung so hard at the first pitch that he tore open the skin where the bone had fractured, turning his uniform as crimson as the picturesque redbird on the front of his shirt.

He told Dyer he was just fine in 1946, when he took a pitch on the right elbow during the fifth game of the World Series. He wouldn't let the injury "wreck" his game, "but the satisfaction," he said, but on the train back from Boston that night, Dr. Robert F. Hylan wanted him not to risk his career by playing with the bad bruise.

"Doc, I thought you were smart," Slaughter said. "Man, how in the world do you think I'm gonna miss this one? If I'm breathing, I'm all right to play."

Batting almost one-handed, Slaughter drove in a key run in the sixth game, and in the seventh game, with the score tied, he led off the eighth inning with a base hit. He then raced home from first base on the hit-and-run as Harry Walker slapped a hit into left-center, and Leon Culberson and Johnny Pesky did not get the ball to the plate in time. The scores gave Walker a double, but the reality is that Slaughter won a World Series by scoring from first on a single.

Baseball players should not make the Hall of Fame on the basis of one play, but Country Slaughter headed like that for 19 seasons, and was batting an even .300 for his career when they took away his uniform in 1959. Rose was in the major leagues four years later, and they'll have to tear the uniform off him, too.



The Cardinals' Willie McGee took a home run away from Graig Nettles in San Diego, but Gary Carter suffered no such misfortune as he connected against the Astros in New York.

Owners' Offer Angers Baseball Union; Chances of Averting a Strike Diminish

By Murray Chass

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Chances of averting a baseball strike Aug. 6, already a remote possibility, have seemed to diminish even further.

The owners' negotiators resubmitted on Thursday a salary arbitration proposal that the union chief said was designed to anger the players and further frustrate efforts to reach an agreement.

Another bargaining session was to take place Friday, but there was no indication that either side expected any progress to be made.

At Thursday's meeting, management representatives presented contract language dealing with salary arbitration. The proposal, the same as the one made June 12, contained two elements in particular that aroused the union's wrath — that eligibility be increased from two years of major league service to three and that an arbitrator not be permitted to award a salary that was more than double the player's pay the previous season.

Labeling the owners' action provocative, Donald Fehr, the union leader, said: "At this stage in the negotiations, the owners are once again making a proposal that they know would be severely re-

gressive in reducing salaries. If there is interest in reaching agreement at this stage, you don't do it this way."

"If you want to reignite the fires that have been smoldering the past six months, you do exactly what they've done. They're not stupid enough not to expect that this would make players angry, so I have to think they knew what they were doing. This does nothing but impede the chances of reaching an agreement."

Joe MacPhail, the owners' labor spokesman, was surprised at Fehr's reaction, pointing out that the salary arbitration proposal had been made more than six weeks ago.

Noting that the players' proposal would have made more players eligible for the procedure, he said: "Maybe they expected if they offered to drop that, we would drop ours. But salary arbitration is a very important issue to us. We have to do something to retard the increase in player salaries. You don't do that by saying it you have to have a system."

The players had rejected the salary arbitration proposal when it was made, along with the owners' payroll plan, which would have served as a salary cap. When Fehr

was asked what he expected Thursday, he said: "Something other than a deliberate slap."

He added: "Twelve days before a strike, I've got to tell all the young players, who are overwhelmingly the majority of major league players, that we won't have salary arbitration as you know it and all the salaries will go down. That's the price of an agreement. I don't know who's going to accept that. They know I have to talk to the players so that apparently is what they're trying to achieve. If there's anyone on the other side interested in reaching an agreement, I haven't seen or heard of it."

MacPhail said that the owners were trying to negotiate an agreement to replace the one that expired last Dec. 31 but that any agreement would have to provide a way for the owners to slow down the salary escalation. "Salary arbitration," he said, "is an area I always knew would be difficult for them, but it's part of the slowing process we've asked for."

MacPhail also said the owners would continue to withhold a proposal on their contribution to the players' pension and benefit plan until the players were prepared to address the "slowing process."

Stieb Blanks Angels As Blue Jays Extend Winning Streak to 5

United Press International

TORONTO — Dave Stieb pitched a seven-hitter and Damaso Garcia, Willie Upshaw and Lloyd Moseby each collected two hits and a pair of RBIs Thursday night to lead the Toronto Blue Jays to a 7-0 victory over the California Angels.

Stieb (10-6) struck out three and walked one while posting his second shutout and fifth complete game. In his past 14 games, the 26-year-old right-hander has held the

since recuperating from a torn Achilles tendon, opened with four perfect innings. Eddie Murray hit a grand slam home run in the eighth inning — his second this season — after Floyd Bannister loaded the bases with three walks.

Red Sox 5, Mariners 3: Jim Rice drove in three runs as Bobby Ojeda and two relievers teamed on a seven-hitter, pacing Boston to its fifth straight victory. Wade Boggs singled for the Red Sox to extend his hitting streak to 23 games.

Tigers 7, Twins 2: Jack Morris hurled a four-hitter and Barbaro Garbey hit a home run and an RBI single to lead Detroit to victory in Minneapolis. Morris recorded his 10th complete game and is now 6-0 in the Metrodome and 14-4 lifetime against the Twins.

A's 11, Brewers 2: Bruce Bochte hit a three-run homer to cap a five-run sixth inning, and Dwayne Murphy hit a triple and drove in two runs to power the A's in Milwaukee. Tim Lincecum pitched an eight-hitter for Oakland in his first major-league complete game.

Mets 6, Astros 3: In the National League, Dwight Gooden scattered seven hits and struck out six to lead New York. Gooden increased his total strikeouts to 163, highest in the majors. He walked two in losing his ninth complete game. Gary Carter hit a three-run home run for the Mets.

Cardinals 9, Padres 6: Vince Coleman ignited a five-run ninth off Rich Gossage with an RBI single, pacing St. Louis in San Diego. It was the fifth straight triumph for the Cardinals and the fifth consecutive loss for the Padres.

Giants 4, Pirates 3: Chris Brown hit a two-run single and Bob Brenly hit a run-scoring double in the eighth inning to rally the Giants in San Francisco.

Expos 1, Reds 0: Razor Shines' pinch-hit single in the seventh scored Herm Winghamham to make the Expos triumphant. Bill Guletski and Jeff Reardon, who earned his 25th save, combined on a four-hitter.

Brewers 3, Phillies 2: Rafael Ramirez scored from second when the Phillies committed an error trying to turn a double play, lifting Atlanta in Philadelphia.

Dodgers 7, Cubs 3: Pedro Guerrero hit his 23d home run and scored three times to lead the Dodgers over Chicago in Los Angeles. Fernando Valenzuela won his fifth straight game and Ken Howell recorded his 10th save.

BASEBALL ROUNDUP

opposition to two or fewer runs on 12 occasions while lowering his league-leading Earned Run Average to 1.95.

"By far my won-loss record has never indicated how well I've pitched," Stieb said. "I don't know if it ever will. I look around and see guys 14-3 and I feel I should be with them. I might not win 20 games. I might not even become the first Blue Jay to win 20 games. And that means a lot to me."

The Blue Jays' fifth consecutive victory allowed the club to open a five-game lead over the New York Yankees in the American League East.

Toronto took a 2-0 lead in the second off Mike Witt (8-7) who had a personal five-game winning streak snapped. The Blue Jays loaded the bases on lead-off singles by Al Oliver and Ernie Whitt and a one-out intentional walk to Jesse Barfield. Garcia then ripped a two-run single to make it 2-0.

The Blue Jays stretched their lead to 4-0 with a pair of runs in the third. With one out, Rance Mulliniks singled and advanced to third when George Bell doubled. With two out, Upshaw singled in both runners.

Toronto made it 5-0 in the fourth and 6-0 in the sixth on RBI singles by Moseby. Whitt hit his 12th homer in the eighth to give the Blue Jays a 7-0 lead.

The Angels mounted their best scoring threat in the sixth. Jerry Narmon and Dick Schofield singled with none out and Ruppert Jones followed with a sharp liner back to the box. Stieb snared the ball and fired to second to retire Narmon for the third of four Toronto double plays.

Orleans 5, White Sox 1: Mike Flanagan pitched a three-hitter over eight innings in Chicago, lifting Baltimore over the White Sox. Flanagan, making his second start

SCOREBOARD

Transition

Baseball

Line Scores

NATIONAL LEAGUE

Philadelphia 3, New York 2
St. Louis 4, Cincinnati 1
San Francisco 7, Oakland 3
Los Angeles 6, Houston 2
Pittsburgh 5, Chicago 1
Milwaukee 4, Montreal 1
Cleveland 3, Detroit 1
Boston 2, Toronto 1
Washington 1, Atlanta 0
San Diego 1, Kansas City 0
Colorado 1, New York 0
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